

JEAN D. GRAMBS AND L. MORRIS McCLURE

FOUNDATIONS OF TEACHING

An Introduction to Modern Education

*TEACHING
TODAY*

FOUNDATIONS

An Introduction

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OF TEACHING

to Modern Education

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Preface

This book is an introduction to the field of education and to the profession of teaching. It deals with the realities of the social and cultural scene and the relationships of these realities to the social mission and tasks of schools today. The book was planned to provide a basic orientation to the full intellectual challenge of education as a field of study and to teaching as a career.

Those who read and study this book have been to many schools. These schools may have been in big cities, small towns, or isolated mountain valleys. They may have been schools richly supported by abundant local wealth or schools dependent upon the meager resources of impoverished villages. They were elementary schools, junior high schools, and senior high schools; private, public, or parochial; big or small; old or new.

Unique to the American scene is the infinite and rich variety of its schools.

The perception of teaching and of the educational process that most beginning education students have is affected by the numerous active roles imposed on him as a student. This book attempts to initiate a change in the student's point of view toward teaching, from the receptive to the active, from receiving to giving. The prospective teacher will gradually learn that the school and the classroom situation do not look the same from "the other side of the desk."

The American system of education is different from any other educational system in the world. The American teacher as an agent of this unique enterprise needs to sense and feel the significance and meaning of the social institution of which he is a part. And because the teacher needs to know about the total system, the book is planned for courses enrolling students in both elementary and secondary teaching.

The variety of America's schools is surpassed only by the variety of the children who come to them. These are the clients with whom the teacher deals, the individuals for whom the institution is designed. An understanding of some of the pressures to which children and youth are subject is necessary for the beginning teacher. Furthermore, he must know how schools are organized to perform their important task. Few outside the schools recognize the complexity of a modern educational system. Few have insight into the varying roles of school board, superintendent, school specialists, and teachers. Such understandings are, however, essential to the young adult seeking to become a productive and competent member of the teaching profession.

An overview of the modern curriculum of the total school program, including current issues and new programs in spe-

cific areas, is presented here. The curriculum is the heart of education. It is essential that its importance is emphasized early and that the forces molding and defining it are understood.

Teaching as a profession is new and still plagued with growing pains. The question whether or not teaching is in fact a profession is a pertinent one. The characteristics of a profession and the education of a member of a profession are dealt with objectively and clearly. The degree of success that teaching has achieved in its struggle for recognition as a profession is better understood within the broader context of professionalism *per se*.

The organizational sequence of the book takes the student through four major areas of study. Part I looks at the social role of teachers, both as a professional group and as individuals in the society and community. The education of a teacher and some of the issues and trends in teacher education are examined. Part II deals with children and youth. The kinds of differences and similarities students present, the out-of-school, unorganized educational influences to which our culture subjects students, and the subcultural characteristics of schools are discussed. Part III, an introduction to the social foundations of American education, offers the prospective teacher a view of the history and development of the American system of public education as well as an understanding of the present educational resources we possess. It emphasizes the great social and technological changes that our society is undergoing

and that must inevitably mean significant modifications in the schools. Part IV analyzes the factors that must be considered in determining the professional status of any occupation and applies these guide lines to teachings. The need for a philosophy of education, a value rationale for teachers, logically follows. The inescapable conclusion is that teachers must possess above all else the qualities of flexibility and eagerness for the challenge of change and improvement.

We feel compelled to point out clearly some of the things this book is *not* designed to do. First, it is not a methods textbook. Courses in which teaching methods are combined with an introduction or orientation to teaching will need to supplement this book with other resources and materials.

Second, this book is not adequate by itself as a complete social foundations text. It may be used as a basic text for such courses, but again it would need reinforcement by the wise selection of supplementary readings that take the student deeper into the social and cultural bases for education as an institution.

This book is, however, as has been stated, specifically planned for students in introduction or orientation courses that enroll students in all types of teaching programs, and for students who may still be considering whether or not to enter teaching as a career. This book will provide a sound basis for later specialized foundations and methods work.

J. D. G.
L. M. McC.

*College Park, Maryland
December 1963*

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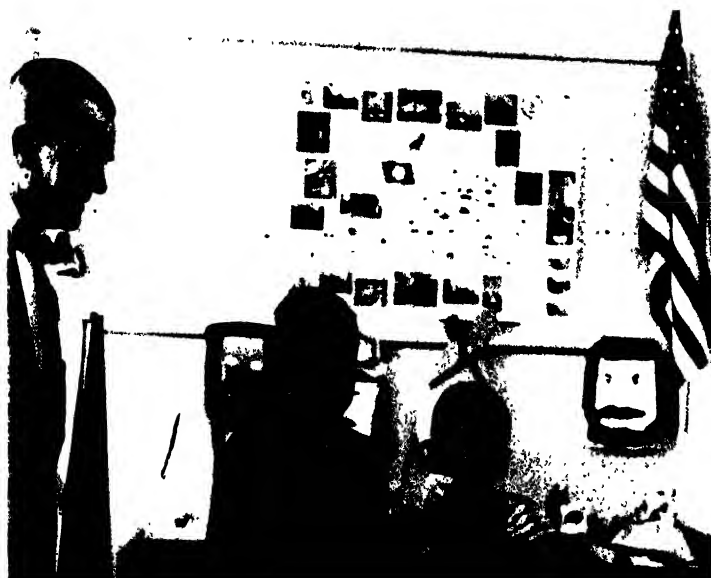
PART I



NEA

The Teacher

EDUCATION IS A HUMAN PROCESS THE PRIMARY FIGURES IN THIS PROCESS ARE TEACHERS AND PUPILS THERE ARE MANY KINDS OF TEACHERS AND THE DIFFERENCES AMONG PUPILS ARE INFINITE. OUT OF THE INTERACTION OF TEACHERS AND PUPILS COMES EDUCATION—THE RESULT OF THE PROFESSIONAL EFFORTS OF TEACHERS AND THE LEARNING ACTIVITIES OF BOYS AND GIRLS.



NEA

This book emphasizes aspects of teaching that have to do with schools, teachers, and the school curriculum, which it looks at primarily as *special* understandings of teachers. Put in another way, teaching behavior and function are the first concerns. The education, development, and role of the teacher as a specialized individual are large topics; to do them justice in a single text necessitated omitting much that could contribute greatly to the book. For example, readers must bear in mind that first and foremost a teacher should come to his teaching tasks qualified in a superior fashion as an *educated* person. He should have experienced the liberalizing influence of a superior education. It is only on such a basis that effective teacher education and practice can be adequate for our time. Therefore, when we discuss the specialized needs of teachers and the daily function of teachers it is always with the thought in mind that they are persons selected in terms of superior intellectual capacity and achievement.



MONTGOMERY COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS

NEA



1

Teachers Are Important

The long journey that takes a person from infancy to adulthood is accomplished with the help of many teachers. The first teacher a child has is his mother, and then his father and his brothers and sisters. Soon, when he ventures forth into the street, he is taught many lessons by other children; some of these lessons may be rough and painful, others enjoyable and stimulating.

Adults other than the child's parents enter the home; these, too, are part of the child's education. Inanimate objects also serve as teachers. Almost every home in America has electronic educators—the radio and television. What a vast and incredibly complicated world enters the living room when these marvels of man's ingenuity are turned on! What an extraordinary education they may provide the watching and listening child! One must add up the five or six years of these educational influences before the school-

teacher even appears upon the scene. The total learning achieved by a child before age five is tremendous—and all of it without a formal, professional teacher!

One of the best expressions of what we may call total environmental teaching was written many years ago by a thoughtful and revered educational philosopher:

The education of the individual begins at birth, or even before birth, and continues throughout life. The school provides a fraction of this totality of experience. Children live two, three, four, five, six years before they start school. They live in the home, in the neighborhood, on the street, in the country village. They come and go with their parents, older brothers and sisters and friends; they take on language, habits, customs, attitudes. They lose themselves and begin to find themselves in their emotions. Their bodies are coordinated and the emotional patterns of their lives are incipiently developed. If we may believe modern psychology, the patterns of their lives are established before they ever enter a school house. They learn the rudiments of living, and though every such child is subject to the limitations of his own home and neighborhood, he has entered into and been subjected to enormous ranges of experiences before he ever starts to school. Education does not begin with schooling. Schooling takes up the task long after it is well begun.¹

Beginning at five or six and continuing for a dozen or more years, most of the children in our society will be exposed to formal education, guided and controlled by teachers. All the informal educational influences mentioned above will still be potent and operating, but the assigned responsibility for education now lies with the school.

Education, then, is the process by which an individual becomes able to function according to the expectations of his society, as well as according to the limits

¹ Joseph K. Hart, *A Social Interpretation of Education* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1929), pp. 247-248.

of his capabilities. *Teachers* are those persons who consciously direct the experiences and behavior of an individual so that education takes place.

Selecting a career is a very crucial and significant decision. Once some major decisions are made, the road cannot be retraced, and it may be difficult to change course. To decide upon teaching is as serious a decision as one can make. One of the major elements in determining such a decision will be what kind of person becomes a good teacher. Closely related will be your own inquiry as to whether you will be a good teacher as well as whether teaching will be good for you.

What kind of teacher do you see yourself becoming? If you could write a word picture of yourself as a teacher, how would you describe yourself? Probably somewhere in that picture lurks the memory of a teacher you have had. In fact, your picture of yourself as a teacher will have bits and pieces of many of the teachers you have had—both the good and the bad.

GEORGE'S TEACHERS

How do all the teachers one has had in a lifetime look? Memory can be selective and distorting. We don't remember all that is good, nor all that is bad, and conveniently forget many things. Because no interaction between people is completely devoid of feeling, relationships with teachers are always tinged with emotion. Our memories may be colored somewhat by reactions we had to teachers which involved feelings that were pleasant or unpleasant, fearful or secure, positive or negative. Such responses may have very little to do with whether or

not the teacher was effective in teaching us.

Here are descriptions of some of the teachers one boy, George, can recall. Some of these teachers may sound very familiar.

George is a young adult. He is a senior at college and about to graduate as an engineer. He belongs to several campus organizations, and he has held important offices in these organizations. George has been a good student in college. His grades are excellent, and the prospects for George after he leaves college are good. He will probably have an opportunity to accept one of many different job offers. He is well liked and mature, and he has shown marked leadership ability. Ever since he was in junior high school, or perhaps even before, George has had a clear idea regarding what he would like to do. His degree of self-direction has been notable. George is reasonably sure of his values, and he is able to live comfortably with them.

This is a "good" picture of a young man, isn't it? How did he get this way? Was he born this way? Did he learn to be this way? Why aren't all young men this way? These are all good questions, but they are questions for which, so far, there are no clear answers. The development of a human being is a complicated process. What he becomes is the result of many factors operating in his total life span as well as certain genetic potentials and limitations that he brings into the world with him.

The influence of any one teacher on any one student cannot be fully determined. But there is no doubt that teachers can open doors for students or slow them in their paces. Other factors such as family, social environment, and innate abilities are not to be discounted; but the

teacher stands at a crucial point assisting students to grow toward a positive social use of their potential.

It is needless to take the space to reproduce the detailed descriptions George has provided of every teacher he has had. By presenting what appear to be the most revealing contributions of George's account, it is possible to show more dramatically the impact teachers may have had on the development of one individual.

George remembers his first teacher—his kindergarten teacher—quite well. He says that he remembers her as being a “real young woman.” It was a large school with several kindergartens. He remembers how he and the other children in his room used to boast to the other children about Miss Hart. They had the “best” kindergarten teacher! George thinks of his kindergarten year as one in which he had fun. He enjoyed school. He remembers rather distinctly some of the games the children played, some of the songs they sang. He is particularly fond of his memories of the workbench and of the pile of scrap lumber that Miss Hart always seemed to be able to keep available by the workbench. He remembers that he didn't like to take a nap. Whenever the time came for the children to lie on their rugs on the floor and rest, George remembers that he was always the last one to be down and the first one to be up, and he now suspects that he did very little resting in between.

George thinks that Miss Hart liked being a teacher. He remembers her as a happy person. She laughed often with the children. She played with them on the playground. George even remembers the quality of her voice. He puts it this way, “It was the kind of voice you should have when you work with little children.”

These aren't very definite memories, are they? The important thing is that George chiefly remembers his “feelings” about Miss Hart. True, he remembers some details and some things that she did. But basically he recalls his emotional response to her as a person. This suggests that one important contribution Miss Hart made to George's development was a first year of school that was an enjoyable one.

Interestingly enough, George does not remember his first- or second-grade teachers very well. He thinks the first-grade teacher was an “older lady,” but he isn't sure. These were years that went by leaving little impression of the two adult personalities who directed his time. He knows he learned a great deal during these two years. He learned to read, he learned to love books, and he learned his numbers.

George remembers his third-grade teacher well. Mrs. Borden was a “stinker,” George says. One of the most lasting impressions she made on him is the memory of her loud voice: “She yelled at the kids.” Furthermore, she talked a great deal. George says that, “In spite of all her talking, she still couldn't make the kids behave.” Mrs. Borden sometimes slapped children, and George was afraid of her. He remembers being afraid most of the time that year. When George describes Mrs. Borden, he frequently mentions various kinds of threats which she used with the children. She would make them stay after school and do extra work, she would complain to their parents, she would fail them, and she would even spank them!

George doesn't recall too clearly how well he did in the third grade. He says rather cynically, “I must have done okay, because I passed,” George doesn't un-

derstand why, in spite of the fear the children had of Mrs. Borden, they didn't behave well with her. He remembers that this was a year in which there was much fighting among the third-graders, much hair pulling, much throwing of things in the classroom, and a great deal of talking when there shouldn't be talking. He remembers how Mrs. Borden could never "keep us in line when we went out of the room." He remembers many of the things he himself did and for which he was punished by Mrs. Borden. To this day he doesn't know why he did them. He says he thinks he knew better but he just couldn't help himself. George says today that he doesn't think teachers like Mrs. Borden should be allowed to teach children.

George had another older teacher for fourth grade. He remembers Miss St. Claire as a very short woman, and he thinks she was "somewhat fat." Miss St. Claire took the children on several field trips. She was the first teacher George recalls who took the children out of the classroom and away from the school for certain definite purposes. He remembers one trip to the airport. They even went through a large passenger plane, and each child was allowed to sit for a few moments in the pilot's seat. They also visited an oil refinery. On another trip she took them to the telephone office. George remembers the rows of girls answering phones and putting through calls and the millions of wires going into the large instrument panels. He remembers the man explaining that each of these wires went out to a home somewhere in the city. He thinks now that trips such as these were very good for the children. He remembers that before they took each trip Miss St. Claire spent a great deal of time talking about

what they would see, how they were to behave, and the part each child would play on the trip. After they got back they reviewed carefully what they had seen and learned. He remembers how hard he and two other boys worked after the trip. They made a model of a telephone center. They used cardboard boxes, cigar boxes, many spools of thread, and even had the experience of having a man from the telephone company come to examine their model and praise them for it.

George remembers that the children often made things in Miss St. Claire's room and that sometimes the room was rather "messy." He remembers one time when a model of a farm was made in one corner of the room. The children brought soil in and spread it on heavy cardboard in order to make fields. They planted seeds in the fields. When this particular unit was completed and they cleared away the model, it was discovered that the damp soil had produced a thick covering of mold on the wooden floor underneath. He remembers how angry the janitor was about this!

George thinks his parents did not consider Miss St. Claire a very good teacher. Once when his father and mother were talking he remembers his father saying that Miss St. Claire did not "make the kids work hard enough." He thinks now that his parents thought that much of what Miss St. Claire did was a lot of foolishness. George, however, feels that the children worked much harder for Miss St. Claire than for Mrs. Borden, the third-grade teacher.

George's memories of his fifth- and sixth-grade teachers are less clear than they are about Mrs. Borden or Miss St. Claire. They left no deep emotional impressions. George recalls these two years

with no evidences of either marked hostility or extraordinary pleasure. His account of these two years is centered more in activities than in the personalities of the teachers. He liked being a safety-patrol boy; we can surmise from his report that he was responsible in this role. He says his sixth-grade teacher often had children work on projects by themselves or in groups of two or three. He and a neighbor boy did some of these together, working at night in the branch library near the school and often at home. Many of these activities had to do with constructing things for science class or preparing charts and models for geography. George enjoyed doing these things. Even though he cannot recall the teachers' images with clarity, he senses that the record of their deeds speaks for them as teachers who planned intelligently and creatively, who directed boys and girls into tasks that were enjoyable and challenging. The fact that George's emotional recollections of these years are relatively neutral suggests that for these teachers the task of managing children and of working with them was natural and productive, free from tension and harsh hostility, full of firm direction and understanding guidance.

George can recall most of the teachers he had during junior high school. He had a science teacher in both the seventh and eighth grades whom he liked very much. He remembers vividly some of the details of these classes. Mr. Castle opened new interests for George and many of the other students in the school. George says:

Mr. Castle liked science and could help the student learn to like it. He had a rough and firm way about him that I think we boys liked. He could joke, and I think he really understood our kind of humor. I remember that we always anticipated his

classes. They never became dull, nor were they the same all the time. As I think back now I suspect that he had a bit of the showman in him, because he knew how to hold attention and get students to work on projects and experiments. I think I got my first real feelings about the true nature of science and its purposes from Mr. Castle.

It may be significant to note here that one of the best-remembered teachers that George had and one about whom he is most enthusiastic is a teacher in a field which George finally chose for his career.

George remembers with some unpleasantness two teachers he had in junior high school. One was Mr. Troy, a history teacher. George's reasons for feeling negative about Mr. Troy are centered in this particular teacher's exaggerated insistence on using all kinds of test and quiz techniques simply to "catch us with trick questions in order to mark us down." Mr. Troy was known to mention frequently his reputation for being willing to fail students. "We just thought he was out to get us all the time," George says. George never developed any enthusiasm for history. He isn't sure that it is because of Mr. Troy. In discussing this matter he shows that he has always been interested in concrete and more or less mechanical things.

The other teacher whom George recalls with little enthusiasm was Mrs. Taylor, who taught English. In this case, however, he is unable to be as explicit as he is about Mr. Troy. He thinks that she "didn't like kids." He goes on to say:

She liked to get a student in an embarrassing situation. Sometimes it might be because he couldn't answer a question. Another time it might be because he made a stupid mistake. She would never let an opportunity go by to make a student feel low or embarrassed. Then, too, she had her pets, mostly girls. We hated her!

George thinks the other teachers he had in junior high school were all "about average." He can recall little that is specific. He discusses them quite freely, commenting on a trait here or a trait there, but in general they may be numbered among those who were merely neutral in George's memory, neither outstandingly good nor outstandingly poor.

The teachers George had in senior high school left the same general memory as did the junior high school teachers. He remembers one physical education teacher, Mr. Schell, with particular fondness. He apparently was a "boy's man" who related well with boys and understood them. The boys often stopped in after school to chat with Mr. Schell, and apparently this teacher was always willing to sit and talk about athletics, baseball standings, or some of his own experiences as a coach earlier in his life. George says that one of the things the boys liked about Mr. Schell was that they all felt equally accepted by him, regardless of their performance in the physical education classes. There Mr. Schell was a firm teacher, for George says that he never allowed anyone to "goof off." On the other hand, as long as a boy was trying to do the best he could, Mr. Schell openly accepted him.

George says that he particularly enjoyed his math and science courses in high school. He thinks it was only partly due to the teachers. He says none of them made as much of an impression as did Mr. Castle. However, by this time George was truly interested in these fields for the sake of their intrinsic values and the challenge they presented to him. George willingly agrees that the reason he is now in engineering is probably due to the intense interest in science and

mathematics that he built up in high school.

During his college career George has been taught by thirty to fifty different professors, laboratory instructors, and graduate assistants. His responses to these people have followed the pattern of his public school years. He has had outstanding teachers, and he has had poor ones. George is quite sure that some teachers taught him much more than did other teachers. He recognizes that those he feels were most effective were not always the best-liked teachers. But usually being liked by the students and being an effective teacher seem to have been related in George's experience. George makes it a point to emphasize that he doesn't recall liking teachers just because they might be "easy."

We have traced briefly the educational trail of one individual as he moved from grade to grade and from teacher to teacher. Altogether George has been directly exposed to over seventy-five teachers since he first entered school. Besides, he has had contacts with many other kinds of school people—nurses, cafeteria workers, principals, guidance counselors, clerks, secretaries, and janitors. What impact on George have all these people made? Has it been a significant one? How much of what George is now is due to any single one of these people? Did the amount of impact on George vary from individual to individual? Would George be different today if he had had a completely different set of teachers? Suppose all of George's teachers had been like Miss St. Claire? Suppose they had all been like Mrs. Borden? Did the fact that George's teachers differed so dramatically in personality and in values contribute anything to this flexible young adult? These questions, of

course, cannot be answered. We can only speculate. And out of these speculations we can make some assumptions that seem to "make sense."

TEACHERS ARE SIGNIFICANT PERSONS

Psychologists and sociologists have fairly well verified the belief that each of us achieves an identity as a person as a result of significant persons in his life. And we need to remember that significant persons vary greatly in the degree of significance they have. Parents and brothers and sisters, members of our basic primary groups, are probably most influential. The degree of influence is determined by such things as amount and duration of contact, its quality, its nature, and the psychological reaction between the individuals concerned. The significance of one person in the life of another is roughly related to how much and what kind of contact as well as the "feeling state" that accompanies it. Teachers, therefore, may be significant persons in the lives of their students, and they may influence the development of these students in important ways.

George has gone through school successfully. In George's case all the factors, whatever they may be, that contribute to the development of an adult have produced an adequate person. At the same time, some of the influences in George's life, including the influence of some teachers, contained strong negative factors. Furthermore, it is probably safe to say that what would be a negative factor for George might not be for someone else.

One thing is strikingly apparent from George's account of the teachers he had:

they included a wide variety of kinds of teachers and kinds of personalities and characters. Some were enthusiastic; some were apathetic. Some of George's teachers were interested in what they were doing, and some were merely "going through the motions." Some of the things these teachers contributed are more obvious than others. These people were all employed to teach George and the other students something. Unquestionably they did teach them something. Equally unquestionably the amount that they taught and the depth of this learning varied among the teachers and the students. Sometimes this variation was due to the quality of teaching, and sometimes it was due to differences in the interests and backgrounds of the students.

Other kinds of influences these teachers had were more subtle. Ways in which adults affect the development of growing children and youth are extremely complex. But the impact of teachers is acknowledged to be very important indeed. For instance, in describing the ways in which more young people may become interested in careers in science, one research study concluded: "The science teacher himself may be for many students a model of a scientist, and this of course adds an additional dimension to the teacher's task."²

Here the result of contact with a teacher is seen in a more specific sense. The teacher is perceived as a scientist, and the student becomes a scientist. This kind of consequence is easy to see and understand. On the other hand, the less obvious and more subtle influences a

² Hugh Allen, *Attitudes of Certain High School Seniors toward Science and Scientific Careers* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1959), p. 39.

teacher has may be equally important though more difficult to identify.

Here is a personal testimony of one of America's successful political leaders regarding the influence of a teacher on his life:

Professor Mayo had the knack of creating the impression that any student was almost a criminal if he wasted time. He created this impression both by his words—he talked to us students nearly every day, at morning exercises—and by his actions. He never wasted time: on the way to and from his office, he read a book as he walked; he studied late every night.

If a student had any zeal, any ambition, Professor Mayo was able to inspire him to work hard and to succeed. In addition, he made it possible for hundreds and hundreds of young people to go to college who could not have afforded to attend another institution. He charged a tuition of \$4 per month; dormitory fees were \$8 a month for room and board.

And for those who could not find the ready cash even for this, he established a credit system: students could attend free with a promise to pay when they got out and made some money. A lot of them did this. And so did I.

I attended Professor Mayo's classes for one year, got a teacher's certificate, and went out and taught in a little one-teacher country school. I used the money I got from this to pay my debts to the college and to complete my work for a Bachelor of Science degree.

After that I taught in other country schools until I was twenty-four years old. Then I ran for office for the first time, as a candidate for the Texas House of Representatives. I've been running in every election since, and I've been elected every time.

If it hadn't been for Mayo's college, his credit system, and his inspiration, I don't know where I'd be today. Professor Mayo instilled in me the importance of a man's having an objective in life, of the need to have a program and to bend every energy to it.

He had a favorite motto, and it was this: "Ceaseless Industry, Fearless Investigation,

Unfettered Thought." He applied this motto in his administration and in his teaching. He was skilled in imparting to his students what was in his mind about history and government. And by doing this he was able to do what I think is one of the greatest things a teacher can do: induce students to study government and history.³

Perhaps this is an oversentimental perception of the influence of a revered teacher. On the other hand, it is an example of the kind of recollection many successful persons express regarding a teacher from the past. There are those who say that the emotionally colored, affectionate identification of a favorite teacher may have all kinds of meaning other than the expressed one of outstanding skill as a teacher. Nevertheless, the important point is that people do consistently recall a teacher or two whenever they reflect upon significant people in their past.

As Henry Adams has said, "A teacher affects eternity; he can never tell where his influence stops."⁴ Nor can a teacher know for sure what aspect of his teaching function will be influential. Perhaps one student responds to a teacher's enthusiasm, another to his sense of humor, a third to his kindness, and a fourth to his prejudices. That teachers do influence students cannot be denied. Although we have many discussions currently about the use of mechanical aids to help students learn, it is probable that for many decades we will not be able to find a mechanical replacement for the teacher.

One astute commentator on the teach-

³ Sam Rayburn, "A Teacher Who Seized Time by the Forelock," *NEA Journal*, 49:25 (March, 1960). Reprinted by permission of the *NEA Journal*.

⁴ Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1930), p. 300.

ing process, after a discussion of some of the new teaching aids, went on to say:

A discussion of teaching aids may seem like an unusual context in which to consider the teacher's role in teaching. Yet, withal, the teacher constitutes the principal aid in the teaching process as it is practiced in our schools. What can be said of the teacher's role in teaching?

It takes no elaborate research to know that communicating knowledge depends in enormous measure upon one's mastery of the knowledge to be communicated. . . .

The teacher is not only a communicator but a model. Somebody who does not see anything beautiful or powerful about mathematics is not likely to ignite others with a sense of the intrinsic excitement of the subject. A teacher who will not or cannot give play to his own intuitiveness is not likely to be effective in encouraging intuition in his students. To be so insecure that he dares not be caught in a mistake does not make a teacher a likely model of daring. If the teacher will not risk a shaky hypothesis, why should the student? . . .

The teacher is also an immediately personal symbol of the educational process, a figure with whom students can identify and compare themselves. Who is not able to recall the impact of some particular teacher—an enthusiast, a devotee of a point of view, a disciplinarian whose ardor came from love of a subject, a playful but serious mind? There are many images, and they are precious. Alas, there are also destructive images: the teachers who sapped confidence, the dream killers, and the rest of the cabinet of horrors.

Whitehead once remarked that education should involve an exposure to greatness. . . .⁵

While research does not tell us exactly what the effect is of one human personality upon the development of other human personalities, it seems probable

that to produce humane individuals the continued intervention of other humane beings is essential. Interestingly enough, this particular function of the teacher is not generally perceived as a major reason for having teachers and schools: the influence that teachers exercise as significant persons is, in a sense, an automatic function. It is impossible to avoid it. Like parents and other family members, the teacher affects development because of his presence, and his presence is ubiquitous. The influence can be positive or negative to varying degrees, and it can vary also in terms of intensity or significance.

So we have teachers employed ostensibly to perform the task of teaching the knowledge and skills deemed essential and important to society. The teaching of this knowledge and these skills is the primary task of the teacher; it is this function which earns him his salary. But while he is performing this necessary social function, he is, usually unrealized by either him or the students, carrying on the equally crucial role of a significant person. There is no question that the first of these responsibilities—teaching in the accepted sense—is of overwhelming importance. The complicated civilization of which we are a part requires increasingly lengthy, formal preparation for the young in order that they may live adequately in it. It is basically for this role that teachers are prepared, and this is as it should be. But it may not be that this is the role for which they will be remembered as individuals.

Later in this book special and more detailed attention will be given to both the social and the professional role of the teacher. Perhaps after further study, you will be able to understand better the

⁵ Reprinted by permission of the publisher from *The Process of Education* by Jerome Seymour Bruner. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, Copyright, 1960, by The President and Fellows of Harvard College.

meaning of and reasons for the various kinds of requirements and experiences you face in the process of becoming a teacher.

SUMMARY

All kinds of people become teachers, just as all kinds of people come to school. We have all known many teachers and can identify some who seemed good for us and some who seemed bad for us. Some, whom we may not even remember, may have been the most crucial in their influence. Others are completely forgotten and completely neutral in their impact. The significant concept to be recognized for anyone contemplating education as a career is that the teacher *is important* in the lives and hearts of hundreds of individuals. To become a good teacher requires formal preparation. Most of this preparation is directed toward competency in the professional, accepted teaching task. The influence of the teacher in his more subtle role of significant person also needs attention in terms of the selection and preparation of teachers.

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2

The Changing Social Role of the Teacher

It has not been many years since almost all our cartoons, comic strips, or other popular allusions to teachers reflected the teacher as being a woman, unmarried, in severe and out-of-date clothes, and wearing her hair in a "bun." This teacher ruled with a mixture of force and sadism and was usually hated by all her students. Or the teacher was a kind of sentimental Mr. Chips or Miss Dove, wise but rather ineffectual and certainly old-fashioned. More recently, the stereotype was that of Miss Brooks, brittle, sharp, always in pursuit of a man, but doomed to be eluded. None of these stereotypes was flattering. None of them was true as portraying the "typical" teacher.

Classrooms were shown as extremely formal with straight rows of desks. Teachers were always in the front with their desks pointed toward the students. Even the proverbial dunce chair with its

pointed cap sometimes occupied a prominent place in the front of the room. These stereotypes of the teacher and of the schoolroom showed the teacher and students in almost constant but subtle warfare, with all the power being on one side and all the ingenuity on the other! School was pictured as a place that was endured if you couldn't escape it.

It is difficult to assess the degree to which these reflections of popular myths concerning teachers discourage young people from becoming teachers. Certainly such stereotypes would not offer an encouraging picture for young people today who might have an interest in becoming teachers. That the stereotype does still exist and that it may very well interfere with recruiting individuals into the teaching profession is borne out by a recent research study. The adults queried about their perceptions of teachers responded with a far from flattering picture.¹

POPULAR PERCEPTIONS OF TEACHERS ARE CHANGING

There may still be teachers who resemble these outworn stereotypes, but fortunately their number is declining. Some of this decline is due to real changes in the teacher's job. Changes have also taken place in the manner in which teachers and classrooms are portrayed in the popular press and in other publications. This is due in part to a concerted effort by teachers' organizations to secure the cooperation of communications and entertainment media to correct a stereotype so obviously false and unfair. This effort has been partially successful. You may recall

¹ Joanne Saltz, "Teacher Stereotype—Liability in Recruiting?" *School Review*, Spring 1960, pp. 105–111.

radio, television, and movie portrayals of teachers who were not the stereotypes that have been described here.

There will always be some portrayal of stereotypes in the popular press and in radio and television programs. This is true for all professions. When they are not in poor taste or when they are not grossly false or misleading, stereotypes probably tend to add some humor and do little harm. Perhaps teachers, as well as members of other professions, need to be able to laugh at some of these reflections of themselves and not become defensive about them. A few years ago one of the journals of a national teacher organization printed a joke that went something like this:

Three little boys were walking down the street of a large city. In front of them walked three teachers. The teachers overheard one little boy say to the others, "I wonder what those three ladies do?" And one little boy replied, "I think they are schoolteachers." This somehow struck the teachers as being humorous, and they laughed, whereupon the third little boy said to his companions, "Naw, they're not teachers; they can laugh!"

Many things have contributed during the last generation to a more wholesome and realistic public concept of the teacher. One of these has undoubtedly been the growth of the parent-teacher association, the organization in which both parents and teachers are members. When parents have an opportunity to associate with teachers they see them as normal, sincere people, not different from nonteachers. Many kinds of school-home cooperative programs have come into existence. These frequently involve mothers, particularly at the primary level, in various helping roles with teachers. Schools have found that the assistance of

parents in many nonprofessional activities of the school produces a great deal of understanding and cooperation which helps to improve the program of the school and the kinds of relationships which exist between it and the community.

Another factor that has contributed to a change of status for the modern, fully qualified teacher is the increase in the number of teachers who participate in various kinds of community affairs. Teachers have always done this, of course. In fact, not so long ago such responsibilities as leading boy scouts and teaching Sunday school were often deliberately assigned to teachers by school authorities. Sometimes the obligation to assist in one or more such activities was actually written into the contract of the teacher. This served to reduce the status of teachers, for the community often looked on teachers as a resource to which they could turn for these kinds of youth leadership roles without any chance of being refused. Captive "volunteers" don't have high status!

Today one finds a difference both in the kinds of activities in which teachers become involved and in the reasons which lead them to these activities. Men teachers are often members of service clubs. Some serve on governing boards of churches; others assume leadership in fund-raising campaigns and other organized community-wide undertakings. Increasing numbers of teachers run for public office and take an active part in politics. Women teachers have become members and have assumed leadership roles in such organizations as the American Association of University Women, the League of Women Voters, church boards, as well as in community affairs.

More important, teachers *volunteer* for these kinds of activities. They reflect real interests of teachers. This participation gives parents and citizens a chance to see teachers as persons and as peers. Whenever we see many people of any identifiable group in normal social roles, and these roles are wholesome and positive, we tend to transfer some of the attitudes we feel toward these individuals to all persons in this particular group. Students entering the profession of teaching today are certain to find that the trend toward greater acceptance of the teacher will continue. This will be only one of many trends that make teaching more attractive today.

THE STATUS OF TEACHERS— PAST TO PRESENT

The role of the teacher in the United States is an interesting one. Teachers have considerable status today as professional people, but not as much status as have those in such professions as medicine and law.

Certainly schooling and education were respected in early America. One of the first things the early colonists did was to establish schools and colleges. Many of today's institutions date back several hundred years. It is probable, too, that one of the early settlers' motives for coming to America was the desire to secure for their children the right to an education, a prize limited to the elite and the aristocracy back in the old country. American history gives early and abundant evidence of a genuine interest in education. But this history is also replete with evidence that this respect for education was not universally shared. To the rough fron-

tiersman it was more important to be able to defend his family and to fight a living out of the wilderness than waste time on such foolishness as reading and writing. Throughout American history—until quite recent years, in fact—it has been the proud boast of many a captain of industry that he achieved his eminence without much formal schooling. To be able to rise to the top, though uneducated, is indeed a triumph.

We can detect in America today two diverse and conflicting currents—one which values education, culture, and the development of ideas and intellectual discovery; and the other, which values native intelligence untrammelled by theories and book knowledge. You have undoubtedly heard the phrase of G. B. Shaw, "Those who can do, those who can't teach." In the American tradition there is a great deal of this sentiment. The teacher as an individual then attracts somewhat reluctant respect.

Our history also tends to work against the creation of an accurate picture of the teacher in the public mind. Early schoolmasters were ignorant and often rather coarse and brutal persons. They were itinerants, moving from place to place to teach school for a few weeks or months, depending on what the local populace could afford. In fact, some of the first schoolteachers were indentured servants or former criminals. In addition to teaching school they often were obligated to do such varied tasks as lead the church choir, sit with the sick, and serve as official gravedigger! The "Dame School," an inheritance from England, provided minimal education for young children and was taught by women who seldom knew more than the rudiments of reading and figuring.

The intellectual giants in America's early history were often self-taught persons whose thirst for knowledge sent them far afield. We can hardly credit formal schools with the brilliance of Paine, Jefferson, Washington, or Franklin.

Later, as the country grew, the value of literacy was admitted, even on the frontier. A man who could read, write, and figure had a real advantage over his ignorant fellow men. So schools typified by the "Little Red Schoolhouse" appeared nearly everywhere. Their teachers, many of them spinsters, often had barely more than an elementary schooling themselves. In time, as the elementary school became the accepted common school, most of the teachers at that level were women. The men teachers were to be found primarily in the academies, high schools, colleges, and seminaries.

Today the status or prestige factor as it applies to teaching is probably higher than ever before. Interestingly enough, however, polls and surveys of public opinion regarding teaching and teachers tend to place teaching high on any list in terms of the *importance* of teaching, but considerably lower when the questions are phrased in terms of the *social standing* or *the salaries* of teachers.² Obviously there are differences in the public mind between importance or degree of essentialness and social regard or prestige. In our culture the latter tends to be dependent on such factors as income and family background. It is safe to assume that as teachers' salaries continue to rise, prestige as well as importance will come to be attached to teaching.

² Frederick W. Terrien, "Who Thinks What about Educators?" *American Journal of Sociology*, 59:150-158 (September 1953).

INFLUENCE OF WOMEN ON AMERICAN EDUCATION

What happens to a profession when it is filled mostly by women? Although in 1870 there was one man teacher for every one and a half women teachers, the women were predominantly in the lower grades. Elementary education soon was associated with women; and those jobs that are considered women's jobs are, typically, less well paid, have lower prestige, and are considered below the dignity of most men. As the elementary schools expanded, the ratio of men to women shifted even more. By 1900 there were two and one third women teachers for every man teacher. By 1947 there were five and one half women teachers for every man teacher. In 1960 one out of eight of all students graduating as elementary schoolteachers was a man.³

The significant fact is that women predominate in teaching the lower grades, are about equal in numbers at the secondary level, and are greatly outnumbered by men at the college level.

Not only did women come to dominate the educational scene; they were treated with somewhat special care and attention. For instance, in 1941 only three states and the District of Columbia had statutes *prohibiting* the dismissal of women teachers when they married. Earlier, in 1930-1931, over three fourths of the cities over 2500 reporting to a sample survey denied employment to married women teachers, and 61 percent refused to continue to employ women teachers who married. It was difficult, if not impossible, for a married woman to remain in teaching three decades ago. Women

³ National Education Association, *Teacher Supply and Demand in Public Schools* (Washington, D.C.: The Association, 1960), p. 6.

also were paid consistently less, married or not. Salaries of women teachers ranged from 73 to 98 percent of those of men, with the median salary of women teachers being 89 percent of that paid men in 1937-1938.⁴

It is no wonder that the public tends to remember the typical teacher as a spinster. Today's parents, educated in the public schools during the 1930's, were taught by a majority of such individuals. Not only does such a stereotype affect recruitment of women today; it also affects the attractiveness of the profession for young men.

Times, of course, have changed. Between 1941 and 1951 a marked shift occurred in the attitude toward married women in teaching. As World War II drew more and more young men into the service, the schools were forced to reconsider their prejudices against married women as teachers. By 1951 only 8 percent of the city school systems reported an unconditional policy of appointing no married women, as compared with 58 percent opposed ten years earlier. Today the evidence is overwhelming that schools will accept all qualified people, men and women, married or not.⁵

The drive for equality of pay has also been successful. Women suffered discrimination in wages, and so did Negroes. In recent years most school systems have adopted a standard policy on salary schedules, based on education and experience, so that all are paid equally. There are still some differences between salaries

of Negro and white teachers in segregated school systems, but each year sees a diminution of this discrepancy. The major difference today exists between rich school districts and poor ones. Pay of rural teachers generally lags behind that of city teachers; salaries in poor states are a good deal below those of richer states.

SOCIAL ORIGINS OF TEACHERS

The social origins of teachers are significant in determining the status of teaching. In the early years of this century most of the teachers were high school or normal school graduates. There is scarcely an institution today which calls itself a normal school. The name itself was borrowed from the French *école normale*. Such normal schools usually provided one or two years of education beyond high school and were often tuition-free or cost very little. They were to be found in rural counties and small towns of the United States. If one could not afford to go away to a large state university or to a private college or university, the only alternative was the home-town normal school.

The normal school provided a minimum of content subjects. It emphasized the rudimentary skills of teaching. It taught specific methods in how to teach reading, writing, and arithmetic. The graduates of such schools were therefore trained technicians rather than broadly educated teachers. Yet these graduates were often the only ones in many a rural area who admitted to reading Shakespeare for pleasure or found ways of encouraging the bright and able to get out and see the wider world.

Because of the accessibility and inexpensiveness of normal school education

⁴ Committee on Equal Opportunity, *Pertinent Problems of Equal Opportunity* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, June 1941).

⁵ "Teacher Personnel Practices, 1950-51: Appointment and Termination of Service." *NEA Research Bulletin*, 30:No. 1 (February 1952).

many a farmer's son and daughter knew that through this route lay their best chance to escape from the farm. A similar motive prompted many a youngster whose father was in the mills or factories to seek out the free city teachers' college as the quickest way to escape the life of a millhand. Studies of the origins of teachers over the years have shown that a good majority came from upper-lower- and lower-middle-class families, with a large proportion coming from rural areas.

Today we find that teachers come from almost every socioeconomic level. But even today the student seeking to become a teacher more often than not comes from a lower-middle-class background. This, of course, is not necessarily bad at all. Ideally, perhaps, teachers should come equally from all levels. The significance of this factor is that the socioeconomic background weighs heavily in determining the values and attitudes of the teacher group.

What effect does the social origin of teachers have upon education and upon teachers? First, the teacher for many decades came from socioeconomic groups whose contact with the total culture was limited. Thus the teacher, although striking out toward new horizons, could not always make up for impoverished cultural beginnings. In fact, since many teachers came from homes where book learning and so-called cultural things were viewed with some suspicion, they too sometimes expressed suspicion of the individual who might be "too interested" in ideas, the arts, or international affairs.⁶

Second, the public saw the teacher as

representing the great mass of the population. Such a view did not help to erase the stereotype of the teacher as a somewhat limited person. It made it easier for the public to press its demands upon the schools, because the public could not see in the teacher someone with any particular claim to special respect.

CHANGING PERCEPTIONS OF THE INTELLECTUAL

In recent years it has been noted that the intellectual is no longer considered as just a strange, impractical sort of person, but rather as someone who can command the kind of knowledge that will eventually get us out among the planets. It is a hopeful sign that an increasing number of schools are making efforts to give the able and bright student at least the same recognition accorded the athletic star! It is no longer considered a matter of boasting to "get by" with a gentleman's "C." The fact that more educational opportunities are being opened up to more and more of the total population means that the talents of an increasingly larger group are now available, rather than merely those of the top elite and economically fortunate.

Several astute social scientists have commented upon the changing role of the teacher. One of them, David Riesman, in his book *The Lonely Crowd*, has pointed out that teachers at one time were the purveyors of the traditions that served to train young people in manners and intellectual matters. The teacher was not concerned with the broader social or emotional needs of the child:

The physical setting in school reflects this situation. Seating is formal—all face front—and often alphabetical. The walls

⁶ Data on social origins summarized from Lindley J. Stiles (Ed.), *The Teacher's Role in American Society*. Fourteenth Yearbook of the John Dewey Society (New York: Harper & Row, 1957), pp. 3-70.

are decorated with the ruins of Pompeii and the bust of Caesar. For all but the few exceptional children who can transcend the dead forms of their classical education and make the ancient world come alive, these etchings and statues signify the irrelevance of the school to the emotional problems of the child.

The teacher herself has neither understanding of nor time for these emotional problems, and the child's relation to other children enters her purview only in disciplinary cases. Often she has simply no authority: she is a common scold with a large brood. Or she manages to maintain discipline by strictures and punishments. But these absorb the emotional attention of the children, often uniting them in opposition to authority. . . .

Riesman goes on to explain that schools of this type, while they establish very clear and unquestioned standards of achievement, were also very unyielding when it came to failure. Factors beyond the control of a child, such as home-life deprivations, a foreign-language background at home, minority-group handicaps in motivation were ignored by this kind of school.

Today's school, as Riesman points out, does take into account such factors. Yet Riesman contends that this is not an unmixed blessing; being considerate and aware of children's needs and differences may also mean that we have lost any true measuring rod for achievement:

Caesar and Pompeii are replaced by visits to stores and dairies, by maps from *Life* and by the *Weekly Reader*; and fairy tales are replaced by stories about trains, telephones, and grocery stores, and later by material on race relations or the United Nations or "Our Latin American Nations." . . .

The teacher's role in this situation is often that of opinion leader. She is the one who reads the messages concerning taste that come from the progressive urban centers. She conveys to the children that what matters is not their industry or learn-

ing as such but their adjustment to the group, their cooperation, their . . . initiative and leadership. . . .

There is therefore a curious resemblance between the role of the teacher and the small class modern school—a role that has spread from the progressive private schools to a good number of public schools—and the role of the industrial relations department in a modern factory. The latter is also increasingly concerned with cooperation between men and men and between men and management, as technical skill becomes less and less of a major concern. In a few of the more advanced plants there is even a pattern of democratic decision on most matters—occasionally important because it affects piece work rates and seniority rules, but usually as trivial as the similar decisions of grammar-school government.⁷

The above observations about modern education may have whetted your appetite for more. You will find the whole volume by Riesman and his associates a fascinating commentary on American life. You will disagree with much and be startled by a good deal, but you will certainly learn a new way of looking at familiar reality. We need not completely endorse his rather caustic views of the effects of modern education on the young, but in many respects what he says is true, and certainly worth pondering.

Another observer of the changing educational scene has spoken in similar terms of the way the role of the teacher has changed. Margaret Mead, noted anthropologist, has provided many new insights regarding education. The following quotation bears many similarities to that taken from Riesman. In fact, as the alert reader will notice, there are both similarities and differences in the points of

⁷David Riesman, *et al.* *The Lonely Crowd*. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1950), pp. 62–64. Reprinted by permission of Yale University Press.

view of these two authors toward the changing American teacher:

The gifted teacher of the classics conveys to the child a sense of the roundedness and relatedness of life, of the way in which each period repeats in its own way an old story that has already been written in a more gracious and finished way in the past. Any budding desire to explore the new, to make new conquests, can be gently, benignly reduced to the expected, by a reference to Diogenes or to Alexander. As man has been, man will be; one can learn to write different but not better sonnets in a world which has dignity and form. The teacher in the academy was typically such a teacher laying the groundwork for an orderly acceptance of a world which, however different today's version seemed, was mercifully never new.

The teacher in the overcrowded city school—where there were too few seats and too few books in a room filled with strange smells from foreign eating habits and foreign sleeping habits—is closest to the parent model, as she struggles to get her pupils to face away from the past and toward the future. She teaches her pupils to acquire habits of hygiene and of industry, to apply themselves diligently to prepare to succeed, and to make the sacrifices necessary to success, to turn a deaf ear to the immediate impulse, to shatter any tradition which seems to block the path to the goal, but to shatter it in a way and with the sanctions of the entrepreneur. This teacher is closest to the model in which the parents rear the child to a kind of behavior rather than to fit within a tradition. When she imitates the teacher of the academy and teaches her pupils to learn memory gems, she will find she faces confusion, because she is teaching them the past of older Americans in order to give them a future, and this contains contradictions. How will these children born in hospitals, treated at clinics, who celebrate a holiday in the biggest movie theater, use such memory gems as "I remember, I remember the house where I was born, for over the river and through the wood to grandfather's house we go; the horse knows the way to carry the sleigh through the

white and drifting snow"? She will be happiest when she teaches modern history, with the next pages still to be written, in a "current events" class, or when she teaches science as a way of looking at life which is constantly changing, constantly discarding what has been the best hypothesis for a better one. She—like the middle-class parent—faces forward into a future that is only partially charted, and so she must furnish her children with a kind of behavior, a method of exploration, rather than with the parchment map, with its lines drawn in lovely fading colors, that is available to the teacher in the academy classroom.⁸

A society dedicated to human rather than machine ends requires teachers who can provide essential kinds of encouragement, warmth, and incentive to achieve. Not only, therefore, is it becoming acceptable to be "eggheads"; it is even necessary for students to become the creative, original, independent kind of people who can staff the classrooms of tomorrow.

In the preceding sections we have briefly analyzed the social situations of the teacher, pointing out some of the historical and traditional factors that have tended to establish teachers as particular kinds of people and teaching as a somewhat low-status profession. We have also pointed out that times are changing. The stereotyped view of the teacher is passing away, and new concepts of the teaching function and the kinds of people needed to fulfill this function are emerging. These are important considerations for young people now considering teaching. The view that society has of a person's role not only determines how he will feel about it, but,

⁸ Reprinted by permission of the publishers from *The School in American Culture* by Margaret Mead. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, Copyright, 1961, by the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

in even more practical terms, how much society will reward him through salary and work situations.

Now let us look more closely at some of the specific elements of the teacher's role: such concerns as attitudes of students and their parents toward teachers, discipline as a problem of the teacher's role, and perceptions teachers themselves have about their status and function.

STUDENTS' ATTITUDES

It is usually found that, contrary to what is generally believed, most students like school. Admittedly the proportion liking school decreases from the first grade through the twelfth and rises again to a substantial figure in college, but even in the last years of high school most students in school do like it. We must remember, of course, that those who like school the least may have already left, which somewhat reduces the validity of our statement that most students do like school. However, it is reassuring to the beginning teacher to know that most of his daily contacts will be with students who are not basically hostile.

What do students think of teachers? There is good evidence that points to an attitude of unquestioning acceptance of the teacher in the primary grades. The teacher, like the other adults with whom the child has come in contact, is a vastly superior, as well as a larger, person who knows all about the somewhat confusing world. As the child matures, he finds out that teachers, like his parents and other adults, may be fallible. Some teachers are unfair, some are easily confused, some don't know how to throw a straight ball, some are short-tempered. Studies of vocational choice among children tell us

that as the student advances through the grades his attitude toward his teachers changes. In the sixth grade a good proportion of them indicate an interest in becoming teachers; this interest declines during junior high, until in senior high only a small percentage give teaching as a vocational choice.⁹

Another element enters the scene during early and later adolescence. At the time that the youngster is beginning to try his wings and to test the control and direction of his parents, he has other authority figures to deal with, also—his teachers. Some of the difficulty that students and teachers experience in secondary school arises more from this relationship than from most other causes.

The classroom expectations of the teacher have changed in recent decades; therefore, the view students have of teachers has changed. Early in the century teachers still exercised unquestioned authority, though this often had to be earned (particularly by men teachers) by thrashing the biggest and toughest students in the school. Today, with our different view of discipline, the teacher is seen as a guide and helper, rather than as a source of absolute authority. The problem we face is that we are not always clear about the role of the teacher as an authority. On the one hand we recognize that good mental health comes from a situation where student and teacher show mutual respect for each other and discipline is related to getting the task done and developing internal controls. But on the other hand adults in general have a great need to make clear their domination of young people and are apt to be threat-

⁹ Richard Lonsdale, "Recruiting Young People for Teaching," *School Executive*, 75:19-21 (November 1955).

ened and uneasy when they are not able to keep youngsters "in line."

Parents are often disturbed when they observe a busy but informal classroom where students may converse, engage in varying tasks simultaneously, and where the teacher is not a dominating figure.

Thus, attitudes of children and youth toward teachers will reflect fairly well their own feelings about authority, which in turn have been influenced by parents and peers. It has been found that attitudes toward authority vary with the socioeconomic level of students. Many children whose families are first-generation Americans receive restrictive and authoritarian discipline at home, reflecting similar attitudes to be found in Western Europe and Latin America. When these children come to school they are apt to be confused and alarmed by teachers who are considerate and permissive. The children do not know how to handle this kind of freedom from authoritarian restraint. The teachers, in turn, become confused when their kindness is interpreted by the children as softness and the classroom becomes chaotic and disorderly.

Teachers of middle-class children, on the other hand, who attempt to be restrictive and authoritarian are going contrary to the ways in which these children have been raised. The teacher who tries considerateness, kindness, helpfulness is apt to find more response in these youngsters since this is the way they expect adults to treat them. As America becomes increasingly more middle class and as each generation sees the percentage of persons in lower-class groups shrinking, we can expect to find a greater agreement between school and home views of discipline and thus more

consistency in attitudes toward the teacher on the part of the students. Also, as education becomes more significant in the life decisions of more people, respect for the teacher will increase. Teachers too will earn such respect increasingly as they become more professional, more expert in classroom procedures, and more knowledgeable in their subject fields.

PARENTS' ATTITUDES

The attitudes of children and youth, as we have indicated, come in part from their parents. And where did these parents get their attitudes? They came from their childhood homes, modified and supplemented by actual experience. The parent passes on to his children the responses to the experiences he has had with teachers. If these have been pleasant, then he inculcates positive feelings in his own children; if his own experiences were negative, then we can expect negative attitudes in the children.

For instance, if a teacher knew that Johnny's father had dropped out of school before graduation, she could be fairly sure that Johnny's father did not like school. Numerous research studies have shown that most of those who drop out of school early indicate that a basic dissatisfaction with school precipitated early withdrawal.

Parents who did poorly in a specific subject are very apt to influence their children's performance in that subject. "I always hated arithmetic," a parent may say to a child who complains of difficulty. This immediately suggests that it is all right to dislike arithmetic and probably all right not to do very well in it, no matter what the teacher says. How

many of you can recall your parents saying such things about areas of school-work that you found troublesome? Was it reassuring? A mother who found biology repulsive may be a sympathetic listener when her daughter complains about some aspect of her laboratory activities.

Parents' views of teachers are complex. If the parent has been humiliated by teachers in his youth, then he finds it difficult, if not impossible, to deal with his children's teachers in a normal and unemotional way. We are fortunate today that more and more young people are having pleasant school experiences; this, in turn, will be reflected by a greater ability to work with teachers later as adults and parents.

Parents have a great emotional stake in their own children. This helps account for the fact that parents view general school policies, finances, and so on, with attitudes that oftentimes may have their origins in the feelings they developed as children or developed as a result of their children's school experiences. This matter of emotional involvement is not a problem if teachers and parents recognize the fact that each views the child in a different perspective. Then each can learn from the other to the ultimate benefit of the child. It is essential that a teacher should ask, when a parent seems unreasonably agitated by what seems to the teacher to be a minor incident, "After all, how would I feel if I were the parent?"

Parents tend to feel uneasy when they observe classrooms which are not completely silent with immediately obedient youngsters. In fact there are parents who feel that such situations encourage only rebellion and hostility. Experts in child

development feel that a relaxed atmosphere is least apt to develop the need to rebel and to kick the world, which is so characteristic of those who have been treated with harsh and restrictive discipline.

One of the significant changes in attitudes of parents toward teachers arises from the fact that every generation finds parents more educated. At one time, of course, teachers were counted among the most educated people in the community. This was particularly true in the latter part of the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth century. Teachers, particularly high school teachers, were college-educated, at least to some extent, while very few of the parents of the children had had schooling beyond the eighth grade. The situation today is strikingly different. The *average* educational level of the American adult population is twelfth grade for women and eleventh grade for men. This means, obviously, that a goodly proportion have education beyond this point. When the adults were not well educated, the teacher's word could be taken as law—the teacher *knew*. Today's teacher is apt to find knowledgeable parents seriously questioning many school practices. The parents, too, have studied psychology. They read current magazines which are replete with columns giving advice—good or bad—to parents. Many journals, such as the National PTA Journal with a circulation of over eleven million, provide excellent educational guidance for parents.

Parents' perceptions of teachers will continue to be shaped by their own recollections of school experiences and teachers they have had as well as by the extent to which they are satisfied with

and respectful of the adequacy of the school program and the teachers. And they will become increasingly critical in terms of demanding that teachers be intelligent and well prepared.

TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD THEMSELVES

Is it good to be a teacher? Do teachers like their jobs? These questions, asked in a number of research studies, have received varying answers. Yet the view teachers have of their role certainly will determine to a large extent how well they function. If people are unhappy in their jobs they cannot do them well.

Many studies show that teachers are more satisfied with their jobs than are other professional people. The reasons given are many: the freedom a teacher has to be creative and original, the satisfactions of seeing one's effect on others, the security and adequate pay. Other investigations, however, report dissatisfactions which indicate that teachers would like higher status, find teaching emotionally wearing, and think they should be better paid. Some studies have shown that more teachers than other professional people would not go into teaching if they were to begin over again. Interestingly, there is some evidence that teachers tend to feel that their profession is looked upon by others with less respect than is actually true.¹⁰

Teaching, as teachers themselves view it, is an important area of work. Certainly

many of you have heard relatives or friends who were teachers complain about what they feel are petty details of teaching, the irritations, the problems of overcrowding and lack of adequate equipment. It is to be hoped, on the other hand, that many have heard these teachers express positive attitudes toward their work. How do their dissatisfactions compare with those of others in different occupations? Do they really differ significantly? How many of you recall your parents complaining about the boss, the girls in the office, the slowness or unfairness of promotion policies, the paper work, and the long hours? If we compared complaints about any job category with the complaints of teachers we would probably find them rather similar. Yet if we compared work satisfactions, the story would be different. Teaching, as teachers tell us time and again, has unique satisfactions. One study reported that two of the major factors contributing to personal satisfactions in teaching are the independence that teachers have in planning their own work and the stimulating variety of their work. The chief dissatisfactions were with working conditions (overcrowding, for example), salaries, and lack of recognition from others.

In general, dissatisfactions with a job are found to be expressed more often by younger workers than older and by single men more often than married men, and the greatest degrees of dissatisfaction are to be found among those whose aspirations are greater than the level of their current jobs.¹¹

Teachers may also be influenced in their attitudes toward teaching by the

¹⁰ Data used here summarized from W. E. Coffman, "Teacher Morale and Curriculum Development," *Journal of Experimental Education*, 19:305-332 (June 1951); and Francis S. Chase, "Factors for Satisfaction in Teaching," *Phi Delta Kappan*, 33:127-132 (November 1951).

¹¹ Lawrence G. Thomas, *The Occupational Structure and Education* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., Prentice Hall, Inc., 1956), p. 199.

morale and pride they felt as a student in teacher education. In a teachers college, where almost everyone is agreed upon a vocational choice, there is little differentiation among students. Some "majors" have higher status than others. Probably those tending to major in mathematics have somewhat more prestige than those in industrial arts or agriculture or nursery school education. In universities where the school or college of education is only one of several major professional schools, the situation may be different. In one large university the students rather reluctantly agreed that they felt being in the school of education identified them with an area at the bottom of the professional heap. One student—and others confessed to the same practice—admitted not even telling her friends that she was enrolled in courses in the school of education!

Such an attitude, common on some campuses, is hard to combat. It is felt, for instance, that education courses are so "easy" that only drones would take them. "Anyone can pass an education course," it is said. An interesting comment on schools of education and why they may not be quite as popular with students is succinctly expressed by the following autobiographical statement:

I was puzzled by the argumentative spirit that dominated many of the education courses. I had been schooled to a form of lecture, described by someone as a process of passing information through the mouth of a professor into the notebook of the student without passing through the heads of either. The education professor intentionally sought debate and disagreement. It is a technique of teaching that often strikes the undergraduate as a waste of time. The undergraduate, and too often the graduate student, is conditioned to taking rapid notes from a professor who has his lecture condensed into a well-prepared outline . . .

[the student] is appalled when he first enters an ably taught course in education where the lecture takes the form of discussions centered in questions arising from the student's study.¹²

One recent study compared high school seniors who planned to enter teacher education with seniors planning to enter other professions or occupations. The factors on which comparisons were made were intelligence, scholarship, and mental health scores. Over one thousand seniors who attended seven representative high schools in Pennsylvania were used as subjects in the study. The results are most interesting and may suggest that the prestige factor is becoming more favorable for teaching as a career among young people. The conclusions, in part are as follows:

1. The mental ability of seniors who preferred to enter the teaching profession compared favorably with the mental ability of those seniors who looked forward to entering other professions. The engineering preference group was the only professional group intellectually superior to the teaching profession preference seniors.

2. Prospective recruits for the teaching profession among high school seniors have a high level of scholastic attainment as measured by school grades. They are superior to seniors who prefer nonprofessional occupations, business administration, and the other professional noncollege group.

3. Seniors preferring the teaching profession possess a quality of mental health, as measured by the instrument employed, comparable to that of seniors preferring most other professional and nonprofessional occupations studied.¹³

¹² Charles H. Wilson, *A Teacher Is a Person* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1956), p. 226.

¹³ Russell S. Rosenberger, "An Investigation of Certain Qualities of High School Seniors Interested in Teaching." Unpublished doctor's

It may be interesting to assess the relative status of various courses of study in your own institution. What status does education seem to have in the eyes of your peers? Is this deserved? Why do you think they feel this way? What is your own feeling? In many universities, colleges of education are increasing enrollments at a rate faster than almost any other division. Why is this so? What is the situation in your own area?

The prestige of a given line of work in this country is also determined by the extent to which the work is seen as a profession. In a later chapter the development of teaching as a profession will be analyzed.

SUMMARY

In today's world, there is no easy job. Teaching never has been and never will be easy. It takes courage, wisdom, endurance, humor, and dedication.

Teachers and teaching are viewed differently by different groups and individuals. In general, the teacher has gained in prestige from generation to generation. The attitudes of students toward teachers and teaching changes noticeably as they grow older. Teachers as a rule tend to be dissatisfied with the attitudes they feel are prevalent concerning them. As the importance of education and of teachers continues to be acknowledged by larger numbers of people, there will be a rise in the prestige of teaching.

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3

The Teacher in the Classroom

The answer to the question, "What do teachers do?" is obviously, "Teachers teach." At least on the folk level this would be the obvious, simple answer; and one would move on to the next question. But the closer one gets to an understanding of what teachers do, the less simple does the question appear. And to answer the question is also seen as a far from easy task.

The person who has not taught but is preparing to become a teacher has to make a very basic shift in point of view. He must move, figuratively speaking, from in front of the teacher's desk—the student's role—to behind the teacher's desk—the teacher's role. In making this shift he must retain sensitivity to how students feel and react and learn, but he must also take on new awareness of all that is involved in directing and guiding the learning of a classroom of students—

how, in fact, to act and feel and perform as a teacher.

As a student, you saw only a very small part of the teacher's day or the teacher's life. You probably were almost completely unaware of the organizational mesh within which the teacher operated, other than the rules and regulations which might have affected your own behavior. You would glimpse from time to time the friendships or enmities of teachers but you would not know much about the total social pattern of the adults in the school. Most of all, you would have only the dimmest notions of how any teacher *felt* as he or she helped, admonished, scolded, inspired, lectured, explained, laughed.

Our purpose in this chapter is to take a look at the things that teachers do by looking at the day in the life of two teachers. On the basis of this inside look we will then consider some of the characteristics which seem to accompany good teaching and good teachers, take a look at the teaching function in somewhat more general and formal terms, and finally consider the new technologies as they may affect the things teachers do.

MR. CARROLL

Mr. Carroll is a junior high school social studies teacher in a medium-sized midwestern city. He is thirty years old, married, and has two children. Mr. Carroll is a fully qualified teacher. He has a bachelor's degree from his state university and has been certified as a high school teacher by his state education office. During the past three summers Mr. Carroll has gone to summer school at the university, where he has been working toward his master's degree in education. As in his undergraduate work, his field of concentration will be social

studies. Mr. Carroll likes teaching and plans to remain a teacher for the rest of his life.

Mr. Carroll cannot remember the exact time when he decided to become a teacher. He knows that early in junior high school he began to think seriously of being a teacher. He saw a chance to combine a growing interest in social studies with an equally satisfying interest in people. He was encouraged to consider teaching by some of his teachers and by a favorite aunt who was a teacher.

Mr. Carroll is well liked by his students. They find him friendly, understanding, and helpful. They also know him to be firm and to be skilled in challenging students to do their best. Boys and girls always seem to be enthusiastic about what they do in his classes. They find themselves developing new interests, new curiosities, and new ideas. Neither Mr. Carroll nor his students could ever identify a specific thing or group of things that he does to accomplish these ends. Probably a typical response from one of his students, if he were asked why Mr. Carroll is a good teacher, would be, "He knows his stuff." Another student might say with all the casualness of youth, "He's okay."

Mr. Carroll arrives at his school at approximately 8:15 in the morning. The children begin to arrive at 8:30. The school in which he teaches is an ordinary-looking school, a two-story brick building housing about 850 people. The room in which Mr. Carroll teaches is an attractive room. As soon as one enters it the fact that it is a social studies classroom is clear. The many bulletin boards are covered with attractively arranged pictures, news articles, and colorful maps reflecting current issues and current

problems being discussed in the class. There are bookshelves in one corner with a reading table and chairs where students can browse when they have a spare minute. On a visit to Mr. Carroll's room, one might find the movable seats in straight rows. On other mornings one can expect to find them arranged in four or five groups around the room. On another day the seats might be arranged in one large circle. Mr. Carroll adjusts the physical arrangements of his room to the particular kind of activity that may be going on at a given time.

Mr. Carroll is busy as soon as he gets in his room. He checks his plans for the day. He recalls that he must get some maps and other materials from the storage room downstairs for use in one of his classes. This he does. He has picked up his mail in the office as he entered the building. Although Mr. Carroll has many things on his mind, he lingered for a moment or two in the office as he checked in. The principal is almost always out in the office to check on some of the thousands of details that go into running a school and to greet the teachers as they come in. Mr. Carroll likes the principal he works for. "A great relief after the petty tyrant we had for a few years" is how he puts it to his friends. This principal is decisive and firm and knows what he thinks makes for good school organization, but he also respects the talents and abilities of his faculty. Mr. Carroll was also looking for his special friend on the faculty, another social studies teacher, Jim Farrell. They had been exploring the possibilities of taking their ninth-grade civics classes to the state capital. He reads the daily bulletin from the principal's office and checks those items which need to be announced to his class. Just before

the first students begin to enter his class, he finds time to return a book to the professional library down the hall.

At 8:30 students begin to come into the room. This is a relaxed school. The general climate in the halls and in the rooms is one of controlled sociability. Students chat together as they come in. Some go to the reading corner to read; some read at their seats. Others form little groups discussing the multitude of very important things that are always available for junior high school students to talk about. There is noise in the room, but it is not unpleasant noise. Some students stop and chat with Mr. Carroll. He moves about the room, greeting a student here or two students there. Sometimes he asks a question. Sometimes he gives a friendly pat on the shoulder. We see that students appear to feel free to talk or joke with Mr. Carroll. There is laughter in the room, and here and there a boy or two can be seen teasing some girls and vice versa. We hear one boy say to Mr. Carroll as he goes past, "Say, Mr. Carroll, I did as you suggested and actually got all my work done last night." Two students hand Mr. Carroll excuse slips from the office for absences the previous day. One student brings Mr. Carroll a request to be excused early for a dental appointment.

Shortly before 8:45 students begin to settle into their seats, and at this time the room begins to take on more of the appearance of a classroom. The first period in the morning is a homeroom period for Mr. Carroll. It is a time for announcements of various kinds. There are "opening exercises" over the public-address system a few moments after the last bell has rung. Students rise to give the pledge of allegiance. In this school

the student body president reads a few words of "inspiration" which a committee of the student body selects each day. Some of the choices are somewhat superficial, according to Mr. Carroll, but some are really quite impressive. Today the student body president reads a short paragraph from Khalil Gibran's, *The Prophet*. "Now how did they ever come across that?" wonders Mr. Carroll, as he reminds himself that young adolescents are continually surprising. Then there are the routine announcements about clubs, games, and other school activities. The principal rarely talks over the public-address system, for which Mr. Carroll and the other teachers are very grateful. Some principals are known for using the "squawk box" at any moment, but a good administrator rarely interrupts a class period unless it is absolutely critical. Mr. Carroll announces that there will be a school party on Friday night. The chairman of the homeroom committee announces jobs for the following week. Some students have responsibilities for taking care of the hobby center, which is located in a display cabinet in front of the room. Other groups have responsibilities for keeping the library corner in order, checking out equipment and supplementary reading materials as they are needed; and another group takes charge of changing one of the bulletin boards. After these announcements, the group studies. The homeroom period, which lasts for nearly forty-five minutes in this particular school, is designed to offer students a chance to study or do other work for the day ahead. Mr. Carroll walks among the students, giving help and suggestions to students whenever he is asked. Some students work together. The room is not completely

quiet, although the talking and activity that does go on all seem to have a purpose and to be a part of a task being accomplished.

The kind of climate that we observe in Mr. Carroll's homeroom does not just happen. It is a result of the way Mr. Carroll plans his work. Not only is it the result of his planning, but it is also a reflection of his attitude toward students, their attitude toward him, and the expectations which he has of himself as a teacher and of these young people as students. This is a situation where students and teacher understand both the limitations and the freedoms that must be observed if the purposes of the school are to be accomplished. Probably neither Mr. Carroll nor any of his students could supply a precise list of the things that have been done to create this atmosphere. The only rule visible is the posted sign indicating what exit door is to be used in case of fire; yet, from the orderly manner in which each student and group of students work and move about, it is evident that posted rules are not needed; the rules are inside each person.

At 9:30 the students go to their first class. During this period Mr. Carroll has a social studies class which lasts until approximately 10:30. He has another social studies class at 10:30 and one more in the afternoon as well as a junior high school English class. Mr. Carroll's schedule for the day looks like this:

8:45- 9:27	Homeroom
9:30-10:27	Social studies
10:30-11:27	Social studies
11:30-12:30	Lunch
12:30- 1:27	English
1:30- 2:27	Planning
2:30- 3:27	Social studies

Mr. Carroll uses the 1:30 hour for

planning and other activities connected with his daily teaching. He frequently finds that this one hour of planning time is not enough. This means that some of his planning must be done after school or at home. He sometimes works during part of his lunch hour. The school has a pleasant teachers' lunchroom just off the main cafeteria, where the teachers can eat without the noise of the children and also smoke if they wish. Mr. Carroll usually eats there and joins his special buddies who make up a kind of informal lunchroom table. The teachers all tend to eat with more or less the same people each day. "I don't think we are really cliquish," says one teacher, "because we can work well together on general school committees, but most of us have our own special group of friends at school—people we see outside of school, too, in social events, so we just tend to eat together and sit together at faculty meetings." As in any social organization, people of congenial temperament tend to group together. There are, of course, some animosities, too. Mr. Carroll recognizes that Mrs. Snodgrass irritates him. He also does not like one of the art teachers, whom he suspects is just a bit too "arty" for his taste, yet he is a good friend of the other art teacher, who is actually a very serious artist outside school.

During his planning hour Mr. Carroll often visits the school library to arrange for quantities of books or other materials to be checked out for use in his room. Sometimes there are phone calls to make in order to arrange for field trips, resource persons to be invited to come to the class, or certain special supplies to be ordered. Mr. Carroll seldom is able to leave school before 4:30 and oftentimes he leaves as late as 5:30. These tasks which Mr. Carroll sets for himself "pay

off" for him in the security that they give him as he begins each class during the day. He is well prepared for each one. He knows what he is going to use. He has these things ready. And not only that, Mr. Carroll knows that the variety of activities he has planned will make it possible for most of his students to take full advantage of their school hours with him. After all, not everyone learns equally well from a book; some people learn best by seeing something, others by hearing it, and most of us by a combination of all our senses. So Mr. Carroll's plans take this into account, too. Field trips, films, resource visitors, a TV show, a recording—all of these resources must be planned for and scheduled. Sometimes the details are maddening, but Mr. Carroll knows they make all the difference in the world. "This class is never dull," says a student—and Mr. Carroll prizes this reputation.

Mr. Carroll is very well organized, and he plans carefully. Other teachers sometimes speak of him with envy because he is so well organized. But he has his days—quite a few, he would be the first to admit—when nothing goes right. The film ordered did not arrive; the projector blew a fuse; the student who was to make the crucial report gets the measles; the library period has to be canceled because a visiting group of Koreans is being entertained at tea in the library by the Home Economics Department. These are the vicissitudes of teaching, and even the best of plans must include "the thing you do when what you planned can't be done." Mr. Carroll, in his careful way, has a kit of special activities designed just for the time when the film doesn't come or the visitor forgets his date.

In addition to his classroom teaching, Mr. Carroll has other duties. He is chair-

man of a committee of faculty members which has been appointed to study what is being taught in the school and to recommend needed changes. What is being taught—the curriculum—is not static. How can it be when the world itself is full of important and significant changes? Mr. Carroll is fortunate in that he teaches in a school where most of the teachers realize that children who live in a rapidly changing time require a changing curriculum. Mr. Carroll, as well as all the other teachers in his building, attends a school staff meeting every other week on Monday afternoon after school. He also is a member of a social studies committee for the entire school system which meets once a month. This committee is doing the same kind of thing with the social studies curriculum for the entire school system that the school committee of which Mr. Carroll is chairman is doing with the curriculum of his own school. As an active person working on the curriculum in his area, Mr. Carroll puts a little more emphasis on his particular mission in social studies teaching, which is to see that current events are given more stress and are more adequately integrated in the regular subject matter. He feels that if the teacher is discussing the Roman Empire, then current events could well focus on modern day Italy; if the subject being considered is the American Revolution, then current events could well be focused on the contemporary "revolutions" that are taking place around the world. There are often heated arguments in curriculum committee meetings, but these are the kinds of arguments that Mr. Carroll and other professional teachers enjoy, since they are talking about their major concern of teaching and how to improve it.

These kinds of activities are typical of

the professional work in which teachers in good schools find themselves engaged. Oftentimes parents and other citizens participate actively in these committees. Two or three times a year Mr. Carroll also meets with a committee of the local teachers' association. This is a local chapter of the state unit of the national teachers' association.

These activities are all recognized as appropriate professional obligations of teachers. This is true in other professions as well. All good members of a profession participate actively in the ongoing affairs of their profession. Mr. Carroll's work on the curriculum committee and on curriculum problems is particularly significant.

MISS FREELAND

Miss Freeland is a first-grade teacher. This is Miss Freeland's second year of teaching. She has a bachelor's degree from a state teachers college. Miss Freeland finds that she is enjoying her second year of teaching much more than her first, although she was not unhappy during her first. She puts it this way, "Last year I was still learning so much. It seemed that every day I had to learn something new. This is still true today except that I find that even my one year of experience makes the problems I face each day seem less compelling, and somehow I feel more confident concerning them."

Miss Freeland teaches in a small town. She has a large class of thirty-five first-graders. She has many pieces of equipment, books, and materials in her room especially designed to interest and stimulate six-year-olds. She is increasingly finding that the job of teaching six-year-

old children is a fascinating one, sometimes discouraging, often exciting, extremely demanding in terms of energy, but never monotonous. Miss Freeland is beginning to realize, as all good teachers do, that teaching is a complex and important task requiring a high degree of creativity, intelligence, and energy.

The beginning of Miss Freeland's day is similar to Mr. Carroll's. She too arrives at school a half-hour or more before the first students come. But from this moment on her day and Mr. Carroll's are quite different. She checks in at the office, collects notices and mail, and goes to her classroom. She is teaching in a fairly new school, and the warm colors and clean surroundings please her. The number of children entering elementary schools since World War II has continued to increase and school construction has been hard pressed to keep up with it. Miss Freeland is grateful that in this town, at least, she has not had to teach on a double-session or shift arrangement. The first-graders need a full day, and the days are hardly long enough for all she wants to do.

Barely has she reached her room when she sees Mrs. Suratski, her room mother, coming toward her holding her little daughter's hand. The room mothers are a blessing, Miss Freeland thinks with relief, because they do many of the little chores that always need to be done. The PTA is the agency through which the room mothers have been organized, and Miss Freeland is one of the first to acknowledge how useful it has been.

Today the room mother will help the children collect the money for the milk that is served in midmorning. Children, yes, even first-graders, can collect and count money. Mrs. Suratski will do the same with the cafeteria money and see

that it gets to the lunchroom. She will continue working on the picture collection, cutting out pictures from stacks of magazines. These pictures can be classified and used for bulletin boards, reading lessons, short stories, and many other kinds of learning activities.

Together, Miss Freeland and Mrs. Suratski check over the morning plans, for the room mother will stay until lunch time. Just as they finish they hear shouts and the clatter of shoes and children. The first busload has arrived! Soon the room will be swarming with shiny, eager first-graders. It is a cold and snowy day, so the children go directly to their classrooms. Miss Freeland and Mrs. Suratski have a busy few minutes as they disentangle children from snow togs, pull off boots, and wipe runny noses. Each child has a clothes hook in the room closet with his name printed over it. Also over the hook is a picture that he himself chose for this purpose.

School has been in session for only a few months, but already the children know the order and routine of the day. They put their coats and boots away and sit at their desks, which are actually small tables with chairs, arranged in small groups in a semicircle. As soon as everyone is seated, Miss Freeland calls the children up for Sharing Time. Each child picks up a chair and all make an intimate half circle around Miss Freeland. They sing an opening song, usually one related to the seasons or the weather. Then any child who has something special to tell the group gets up and shows it or tells about it. Some children bring in a new toy or book, others relate a family trip or describe a visitor. Not all children participate every day, but Miss Freeland is careful to watch out for the shy ones and encourages them to bring something

or tell about it. The children learn poise and self-confidence in front of a group through this kind of experience, and Miss Freeland learns a great deal about them and their families—little tidbits that she notes later in her classbook to help her work with individual children or for parent conferences.

Then Miss Freeland leads the class in another song, and they make a solemn pledge to the flag. Work time starts. Some children go to the back of the room, where they have some unfinished pictures to complete, others gather around Miss Freeland for a discussion of the story they have read. Others work on exercises at their desks that help them discriminate among objects and lead to later facility in reading. The day moves along; Miss Freeland rarely has the whole class doing the same thing at the same time unless it is singing, dancing, or playing an active game. Most of the time she is moving from group to group, or working with individual children while others work alone or in groups at their desks, at easels, or in the library corner.

The room lends itself to these kinds of activities. There is one corner for books—picture books, easy reading books, and books for fast readers. There is an aquarium, and a child is responsible for seeing that the fish are fed each day. Another child changes the date on the calendar, and the name of the day of the week. In one corner is a pretend grocery store made out of orange crates and empty cans and boxes. Next to it is a doll house, with a doll family and much equipment for playing house. In a cabinet and easily available are hammers and saws for making boats and other fascinating objects. There are game shelves with specially constructed games that teach children while they play with them. Balls and

jump ropes are also available for playing out in the yard on good days. The first-graders have a recess period in the middle of the morning which is supervised by one of the teachers. Miss Freeland has her turn once a week; on other days she goes to the teachers' room for a welcome cup of coffee. The principal is almost always in the teachers' room during recess, for he feels that this is a good time to talk informally with the teachers; moreover, they can tell him of any problem that may have come up since their last meeting. On this particular day Miss Freeland asks the principal to check on one of her students who, for some reason, has just quit working on anything. She thinks there may be a home problem. The principal promises to make some inquiries with the guidance office. Here, too, Miss Freeland finds some of her friends, other young teachers also fairly new in teaching; they plan a party for the next week end, and gossip about husbands and boy friends. They can smoke in the teachers' room, but several of the older teachers who disapprove of smoking won't come to the teachers' room. This has caused some friction in the faculty, but so far it has not erupted into a serious problem.

At noon the class moves to the cafeteria, where the children sit together at two large tables after being served. Miss Freeland and the other teachers eat with their children. The meal is informal, with much chattering and laughing. It is a relaxed time. Yet learning is going on: manners, respect for others, more practice in language use, listening, all valuable experiences for a six-year-old!

Right after lunch is a time of rest. First-graders need a real rest period. Miss Freeland reads aloud to them or tells them a story. The children sit on mats on the floor and their eyes grow big and

dreamy as they listen to the soft voice of Miss Freeland. Then quietly they lie back, Miss Freeland puts a soft record on the record player, and they rest for fifteen minutes—some actually sleep, but most just lie still.

Later, after the final activities of the afternoon, another day in first grade ends. Oh, but not yet. Miss Freeland looks in her date book and remembers that Mrs. Jackson is coming for a conference about Judy's work and after that she is going to stop on her way home for a visit with Mrs. Johnson, whose Paul has been showing signs of intense nervousness. Miss Freeland looks through her folder on Judy Jackson for a few minutes before Mrs. Jackson arrives. Miss Freeland thinks that Judy may need glasses; she squints constantly and complains about not seeing the blackboard. The school vision tests are not due for another two months, so Miss Freeland hopes to persuade Mrs. Jackson to have some tests made. The conference runs smoothly, and Mrs. Jackson is delighted with the interest Miss Freeland has shown.

Mrs. Johnson has been ill, Miss Freeland knows, and is expecting another baby soon, too. Perhaps this explains Paul's jittery behavior. Mrs. Johnson is grateful for the teacher's home visit, although she is apologetic because her house, though spotless, "looks a fright"! Just talking for a few minutes with Miss Freeland helps Mrs. Johnson understand Paul. She feels easier now that the teacher understands and can help Paul too.

Do you think Miss Freeland's day is over? Hardly! She is eagerly awaiting a phone call from her fiancé, who is also a teacher, regarding the in-service meeting they are planning to attend that evening. Miss Freeland will be married in June as soon as school is out but in-

tends to teach for a few more years, "Until I have my own children," she explains, "and when they are all in school, three or four of them, I shall come right back to the first grade. I love it too much to stay home permanently!"

Tonight's in-service program is "Promotion versus Nonpromotion." A specialist from the university is to present the research on this very controversial problem. A city-wide committee is working on a promotion policy, and this meeting is designed to help establish a basis upon which the policy can be set.

Finally, at 10:30, Miss Freeland bids good night to her fiancé at the door to the apartment she shares with two other teachers, and she wearily prepares for bed, after another good teaching day.

We have seen here that the teacher's job is not confined to the classroom; it extends outside into many important activities. The increasing complexity of teachers' obligations has made the selection and preparation of teachers the object of much study which has been reflected in longer periods of preparation and higher standards of selection. The things Mr. Carroll or Miss Freeland do are not things which an inadequate or a poorly prepared teacher can do effectively.

The days that have been described for Mr. Carroll and for Miss Freeland are typical ones for good teachers. Teaching requires stamina, organization, and self-direction. People who have observed good teachers over a period of time notice that some of them seem to have developed almost unconsciously the ability to relax momentarily at opportune times. Probably teachers could not carry on the strenuous and tension-filled activities which are part of their lives unless they

did develop the ability to work in a reasonably relaxed fashion and to take advantage of every opportunity to "let down." For example, many elementary teachers like Miss Freeland spend all day with one group. This has advantages since it enables the teacher to get to know the children better. Being with one group all day makes it possible for the elementary school teacher to do more individual work, to recognize individual needs, and to plan appropriate needed activities for each child. On the other hand, she typically has no scheduled planning periods or regular "break" from her children.

Teachers in areas such as art, music, and shop have different kinds of assignments. They teach in rooms and use equipment and materials that are specialized for their particular subjects. Nevertheless, the basic task of all teachers remains the same—to be aware of learning that is required in a given area or areas and to plan and arrange activities and experiences that will result in its being achieved to the best of the abilities of the individuals in the group.

THE MANY TASKS OF THE TEACHER

Our observations of Mr. Carroll and Miss Freeland have shown that a good teacher performs a large number of tasks each day. It should be obvious that these tasks are highly varied, that they involve skills which must be learned, and that they are also subtly tied in with the character and personality of the individual teacher. It would require far more space and time than are available here to examine each little task our two teachers performed. We can, however, briefly em-

phasize a number of categories of tasks that are reasonably specific and discrete.

Knowledge of what was to be taught was apparent in both classrooms. A teacher is first of all an educated person. He has studied intensively in the fields he is expected to teach. This is more obvious in the case of Mr. Carroll because we see in him a specialist in the social sciences. He has studied much and has done research in these fields. Miss Freeland, too, has studied in the subject matter areas, but, since she teaches in all areas, her background is broader and necessarily less specialized.

Understanding of children was revealed by both teachers. In order to plan rich learning experiences for pupils at any level, a teacher must know the characteristics of children at that stage in their development. He must be able to interpret in a manner desirable for learning and growth the behavior of children. A good teacher has developed sharp insights and perceives much that is significant among his pupils that would escape observation by an untrained person.

The ability to plan for effective teaching and learning was evidenced by both teachers. Things progressed in an orderly, sequential fashion. As you observe classrooms during your teacher education program you may see classrooms where planning is lacking. Such situations are easy to detect. All professional work is planned. How to plan for teaching is a skill that must be learned. You will find as you experience further preparation as a teacher that there are many factors a good teacher must consider, often simultaneously, as he makes his "blueprints" for learning.

Materials and equipment used by teachers are becoming increasingly voluminous, technical, and specialized. We

are in a dynamic era of rapidly developing technology in education. We hear of teaching machines, programmed learning, learning laboratories, educational television, and many others. Mr. Carroll and Miss Freeland use a large variety of materials. They both use movies, filmstrips, and other kinds of projective procedures. As new techniques are perfected, these teachers will have to prepare themselves to use them in order to enrich the quality of their teaching.

Maintenance of records is an important part of our teachers' work. The files their schools keep for each child and the files and records each teacher keeps in his own classroom are indispensable. In a discussion held with Mr. Carroll he remarked, "I use the main files in the office a great deal, but probably the records that are most helpful to me in the sense that they influence the daily, or even hourly, course of events in my classes are the notes, observations, memoranda, and directions I keep for myself. I have my own way of doing this—all teachers do. I even carry little cards around in my pockets with notes and jottings on them!" Some of the records that are kept on children are relatively technical. Prospective teachers are usually provided with specific instruction regarding the maintenance of professional records.

Evaluation of learning is a continuous necessity in any teaching role. One who teaches must know the degree to which he is being successful in his teaching. Evaluation is always a test of both teaching and learning. Mr. Carroll and Miss Freeland use many techniques to evaluate their teaching and the learning and growth it is achieving. Their methods range all the way from insightful little observations they are constantly making of individuals and groups to the technical

application of sophisticated standardized testing instruments. Continuous evaluation leads to continuous flexibility in teaching in order that provision can be made for the needs the evaluation has revealed.

Staff skills have become increasingly significant in late years. Teachers working together in organized groups are playing important roles in educational planning and curriculum revision. Skills in staff work just don't happen. They are learned and become polished with use as teachers find that time spent in this type of activity "pays off" in coordinated school programs that are better designed to meet the personal and social needs of boys and girls. Both Mr. Carroll and Miss Freeland are active in such tasks. They understand that in addition to the improvement of the program that such work produces they themselves grow personally because of the experience.

Many other specific professional tasks could be identified. But enough have been mentioned to demonstrate the complexity of the good teacher's teaching role. These skills require preparation and training. They also have an intimate relationship to the highly individualized personality traits, temperament factors, and value systems of teachers.

DETERMINANTS OF COMPETENCE IN THE TEACHING FUNCTION

The two teachers we have followed for one day are good teachers. How did they get that way? Were they born that way? Were they deliberately made that way by training? The answer to the first question is suggested in part by both of the other questions. A teacher's compe-

tence emerges from (1) certain personal qualities and (2) specific professional knowledge and the skills he has been taught. It is impossible to observe a teacher in a classroom and say, "Now he is exhibiting a personal quality," or at another time, "Now he is exhibiting a professional skill." The two become blended in the totality of the teacher's behavioral pattern. Some of the experiences included in the teacher education program in which you are enrolled undoubtedly are designed to provide you with specific knowledge and skills necessary for carrying on the teaching function. Some experiences are designed to expand, enhance, and further develop personal qualities which you already possess. Furthermore, most modern teacher education programs seek to recruit, select, and screen prospective teachers on the basis of the personal qualities desirable for teachers, leaving the development of professional qualifications to the program itself.

The discussion which follows attempts to look at teaching competence from two general directions. Sometimes the emphasis may be upon innate traits helpful or even essential for a teacher to have, while at other times the focus will be upon qualities, skills, and behaviors which need to be provided by the teacher education program.

LOOKING AT ONESELF AS A PROSPECTIVE TEACHER

How can you measure yourself as a potential teacher? How can you examine yourself as a person to see if you are making a wise decision in seeking to become a teacher? All young people want to be successful in their chosen field.

They all want to be happy—want to be able to grow as a professional person and secure satisfaction from their work. Bearing in mind that we are now considering only those qualifications and personal characteristics that may serve well as a basis for the more specific professional education of a teacher it is possible to suggest a list of questions that a would-be teacher may use as a yardstick in appraising his potential as a teacher.

A Self-Look for Prospective Teachers

1. Do I like people—most kinds of people?
2. Do I like to be around children and youth?
3. Do I often wonder why a person did what he did in a certain situation?
4. Do I find myself often having questions about things, people, beliefs, and so on?
5. Do I often notice how a person has changed?
6. Do I often notice how a person has learned a new habit or skill?
7. Do I often sense changes in a person's attitude toward me?
8. Do I find myself trying to help other people, often without their being aware of it?
9. Do I often feel an urge to help a person do a better job of whatever he may be engaged in at a given time?
10. Do I enjoy studying and learning?
11. Do I feel real satisfaction from mastering difficult learning?
12. Do I sense and feel in a genuine fashion the importance of knowledge as a tool, as a means to desirable ends?
13. Do I like to collect things because "sometime I might need it"?
14. Do I enjoy finding out more about things I already know?
15. Am I able to care a great deal about ideas and about people?
16. Do I often find myself able to change another person's mind by using knowledge and logic, and sympathy.
17. Do people often ask my opinion and appear to value it when I offer it?
18. Do I often sense during a discussion that the significant ideas are escaping the attention of those involved?
19. Do I find myself sometimes able to influence the direction of discussions without creating resentments?
20. Do I find myself sometimes being influenced by the knowledge and logic coming from another person without feeling resentment?
21. Do I seldom feel resentment when someone questions what I may say or do?
22. Do I sometimes find myself "taking over" without being overly aggressive when a group I am in is planning something?
23. Do I find it easy to organize my tasks, keeping purposes and goals in mind?
24. Am I able to be involved with groups of people for lengthy periods without becoming more fatigued than if I had been working equally hard alone?
25. Am I able to be involved with people without having them frequently "get on my nerves"?
26. Do I often find myself reaching a decision that is against my desires or self-interests because such a decision is fairer to other people?
27. Am I usually able to deal with people without allowing my personal "feelings" about them to interfere?

28. Do I readily see the humor in situations?
29. Am I able to appreciate without resentment jokes on myself?
30. Am I more apt to be happy and relaxed than anxious and tense?
31. Do I feel sorry for people who fail at something, get caught doing something they shouldn't, or seem unable to act correctly?

These kinds of questions are not the precise, discriminating type of questions one would find on a personality inventory. They are, however, the kind of questions that are useful as a basis for reflecting about oneself. Put two or three of them to yourself each evening and spend some time thinking about them. You may wish to consult one of your close friends concerning them. If the answer to most of these questions is a positive one, then it is probable that you are reasonably well equipped to become a teacher. If you find that you must answer a large number of these questions in the negative, then you should seriously reconsider whether or not you want to be a teacher. You will notice that many of the questions deal with your feelings about other people. These feelings grow out of your involvement with other people in different kinds of situations, many of which are highly personal to you. If your reactions to people in these kinds of situations are often negative, the chances are reasonably good that you would frequently find yourself unhappy in a teaching position.

Think of the teachers you have had and how they might answer some of these questions. Think of the teachers you considered to be excellent. How would they have answered many of these questions? Think of some teachers you

considered to be very poor. How would they have answered many of these questions? How do the factors involved in these questions relate to the effectiveness of a teacher? Why are the skills and qualities they suggest important for teachers to possess? These questions are fruitful ones for prospective teachers to discuss. Then, too, the final answers that may be suggested are not more important than the experiences to be had in seeking the answers.

SCIENTIFIC STUDIES OF TEACHER COMPETENCE

A more precise understanding of the teaching function has been sought by analyzing the behavior of teachers as they carry on their daily tasks. Study of teachers' classroom behavior may be relatively subjective, or it may be more sophisticated when it is done as part of scientifically designed research efforts. Both approaches have a place in a discussion such as this.

An example of a scientific approach to an analysis of the teaching function was called the "critical behaviors in teaching" approach. This method was used by Ryans as part of his study of the characteristics of teachers, one of the most significant recent scientific studies of the behavior of teachers. Ryans asked a large number of people experienced in teaching and supervising teachers or in studying teacher behavior to recall specific incidents involving classroom behavior of teachers they had observed, that would fall into one of two categories: incidents which reflected clearly effective teaching, or incidents which reflected clearly ineffective teaching. These critical incidents were defined as follows:

A "critical incident" was defined as any observable teacher behavior or act which might make the difference between success and failure in some specified teaching situation. The approach intentionally excluded those aspects of teaching which seem to show relatively small variance among teachers so far as acceptability or inacceptability is concerned. It sought to note only those behaviors which seem to differentiate between extreme teacher groups.¹

¹ David G. Ryans, *Characteristics of Teachers* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1960), p. 79. Reprinted by permission of the Council.

These critical incidents were then categorized and classified in such a manner that a list called "Generalized Descriptions of Critical Behaviors of Teachers" could be established. Most of the items appearing on this list refer to specific classroom behaviors of teachers. Some of them have to do with behaviors which are reasonably professional and give evidence that they could be learned. Moreover, the list states these critical incidents as extreme ends of a scale of teacher effectiveness. The list as developed by Ryans follows:

Generalized Descriptions of Critical Behaviors of Teachers²

EFFECTIVE BEHAVIORS	INEFFECTIVE BEHAVIORS
1. Alert, appears enthusiastic.	1. Is apathetic, dull, appears bored.
2. Appears interested in pupils and classroom activities.	2. Appears uninterested in pupils and classroom activities.
3. Cheerful, optimistic.	3. Is depressed, pessimistic; appears unhappy.
4. Self-controlled, not easily upset.	4. Loses temper, is easily upset.
5. Likes fun, has a sense of humor.	5. Is overly serious, too occupied for humor.
6. Recognizes and admits own mistakes.	6. Is unaware of, or fails to admit, own mistakes.
7. Is fair, impartial, and objective in treatment of pupils.	7. Is unfair or partial in dealing with pupils.
8. Is patient.	8. Is impatient.
9. Shows understanding and sympathy in working with pupils.	9. Is short with pupils, uses sarcastic remarks, or in other ways shows lack of sympathy with pupils.
10. Is friendly and courteous in relations with pupils.	10. Is aloof and removed in relations with pupils.
11. Helps pupils with personal as well as educational problems.	11. Seems unaware of pupils' personal needs and problems.
12. Commends effort and gives praise for work well done.	12. Does not commend pupils, is disapproving, hypercritical.
13. Accepts pupils' efforts as sincere.	13. Is suspicious of pupil motives.
14. Anticipates reactions of others in social situations.	14. Does not anticipate reactions of others in social situations.

² *Ibid.*, p. 82.

EFFECTIVE BEHAVIORS	INEFFECTIVE BEHAVIORS
15. Encourages pupils to try to do their best.	15. Makes no effort to encourage pupils to do their best.
16. Classroom procedure is planned and well organized.	16. Procedure is without plan, disorganized.
17. Classroom procedure is flexible with over-all plan.	17. Shows extreme rigidity of procedure, inability to depart from plan.
18. Anticipates individual needs.	18. Fails to provide for individual differences and needs of pupils.
19. Stimulates pupils through interesting and original materials and techniques.	19. Uninteresting materials and teaching techniques used.
20. Conducts clear, practical demonstrations and explanations.	20. Demonstrations and explanations are not clear and are poorly conducted.
21. Is clear and thorough in giving directions.	21. Directions are incomplete, vague.
22. Encourages pupils to work through their own problems and evaluate their accomplishments.	22. Fails to give pupils opportunity to work out own problems or evaluate their own work.
23. Disciplines in quiet, dignified and positive manner.	23. Reprimands at length, ridicules, resorts to cruel or meaningless forms of correction.
24. Gives help willingly.	24. Fails to give help or gives it grudgingly.
25. Foresees and attempts to resolve potential difficulties.	25. Is unable to foresee and resolve potential difficulties.

The behaviors we have examined should be helpful to young people desiring to become teachers. In most cases as we look at any specific behavior we can project ourselves into a situation where such behavior might operate. How would you perform with regard to this or that behavior? How an individual would act with regard to any particular behavior is a function of both professional training and individual personality. Any person with a reasonable degree of self-insight can form some judgment about how he might function with regard to these individual behaviors. If he feels

that he would function close to the ineffective extreme, or the right side of the scale, with regard to a certain behavior or category of behaviors, then this probably means that he should be sure that, in the course of his professional preparation experiences, he deliberately tries to reinforce the positive aspects of this behavior.

The scientific study of the teaching function is difficult, particularly when research is attempted in order to define competency in teaching. Many variables that are difficult to control are involved: for example, the selection of criteria with

which to measure teaching competency. Do you judge competency on the basis of

The *amount* pupils learned?

The *quality* of what they learned?

The degree to which teachers have *good relationships* with pupils?

The degree to which pupils' over-all *behavior* has been *modified*?

The degree to which pupils become *interested in* and *learn to like* what they studied?

These are but a few of the yardsticks by which teaching function can be evaluated. Difficulties are obvious when we consider the fact that a teacher could rate very high in terms of how much her pupils learned as measured by subject content tests; yet, in the course of teaching this subject content, she also may have succeeded in developing a dislike for the subject among most of the pupils. Or consider the possibility that a teacher might have high competency in developing good relationships with pupils, but be relatively ineffective in helping them to achieve high performance on subject content tests.

These are all problems which are being attacked from many directions. Generally, educators are in agreement that the ultimate answers lie in determining ways of helping prospective teachers and teachers already in service to achieve the highest possible degree of competency in all criteria of the teaching function. The Ryans study cited above is only one of many current projects that have recently been carried on or are now in progress. A student may find a wealth of reading in his library which has to do with research in teaching competency. Organized effort by a class such as yours can result in several productive

periods devoted to a sophisticated sharing and analysis of some of the current research in the area of teaching competence.

EXPERIMENTAL DEVELOPMENTS AFFECTING THE TEACHING FUNCTION

Each decade finds educators better informed regarding the nature of learning and, therefore, the function of the teacher. Furthermore, in recent years this increased understanding has resulted in important new technological breakthroughs in teaching methods, techniques, and equipment. Some of these are still in a highly experimental stage of development; others are becoming accepted as necessary additions to the planning and operation of a modern school system. Teacher-education programs now provide instruction and experience with these newer methods and equipment as part of advanced methods courses and classroom field experiences. There is space in an introductory text for a relatively brief description of some of these recent advances. They are best described by looking, first, at the new practices that have to do with the ways teachers may be organized for the best use of their time and, second, at those factors which deal with the materials and equipment teachers use.

New patterns of staff utilization are at the heart of many of the experimental programs that are now becoming fixed in the modern approach to the teaching function. These have grown out of attempts by school people to solve post-World War II problems of acute teacher shortages, coupled with sharply rising school enrollments. For a long time the

traditional school organization was the division of students into units of twenty-five to thirty-five, each taught by one teacher in one classroom, for varying periods of time. This was true on all levels, first grade through college. Schools attempted with desperate tenacity to retain this pattern. As enrollments crept up to thirty-five, forty, even to fifty or more, and the end did not seem to be in sight, some schools went on double shifts, and individual classrooms were not large enough. Many experiments began to be tried. All were greeted with mixed responses by the teaching profession and the public. At Bay City, Michigan, an experiment in the use of teacher aids was initiated in the early 1950's. This was an attempt to determine ways in which persons not trained as teachers but capable of working directly under qualified teachers could relieve each teacher in an overcrowded classroom of many of the less technical duties that are a part of classroom activities. Similar experiments were tried throughout the country.³

Although the public and teachers alike viewed changes in the traditional organization of the school with some skepticism, in general the reaction was in favor of more well-planned experimental activity. Educators took stock of the fact that other professions had for years encouraged the development of numerous subprofessional groups which relieved members from routine, relatively uncomplicated tasks. The profession of medicine, for example, is now served by a host of medical technologists, X-ray technicians, medical secretaries, and so on. The same situation exists in engineering, law, and

other mature professions. Teachers, administrators, and school board members began to consider the possibility of developing semiprofessional assistants of various kinds for teachers.

Closely related to the use of subprofessional personnel is the concept of teaching speciality or variation in professional expertness. Subject matter specialties have long been accepted, as well as specialties in terms of level of teaching, such as the English teacher as a specialist in teaching English and the elementary school teacher as a specialist in teaching six- to twelve-year-old children. Expertness in terms of function or methods, however, has not been well developed in the teaching field. It is well known that physicians specialize to a great extent according to function, so that we have bone specialists, eye specialists, psychiatrists, and so forth. The professions of engineering and law also have their specialists. As better staff utilization began to be studied seriously, the teaching profession itself took steps to investigate possible new ways of using different kinds of expertness in teaching. A commission was appointed by the National Association of Secondary School Principals (NASSP) called the Commission on the Experimental Study of the Utilization of the Staff in the Secondary School. This study group was supported financially by a grant from The Fund for the Advancement of Education of the Ford Foundation.

The commission encouraged secondary schools throughout the country to try new organizational patterns for teaching, new ways of using different kinds of expertness in teachers, and new ways of organizing learning programs for students. The experimental programs that have resulted have been

³ *A Cooperative Study of the Better Utilization of Teacher Competencies* (First and Second Progress Reports; Mount Pleasant, Mich.: Central Michigan College, 1954 and 1955).

watched with much interest by the profession. Many, even as you read this, will be undergoing evaluation and further study. It is not possible to describe the details of all the experimental designs which grew out of the commission's study. Some of the concepts and practices tried, however, have become well known, and many of you may have experienced them in your own high schools. These would include such practices as team teaching, large- and small-group instruction patterns, individual study programs, and honors programs of various kinds. The report of the commission provides good descriptions of experimental programs for further study.⁴

There seems little doubt that many permanent changes will result from the efforts of the commission. Basic institutional changes are often a slow, developing process, however; and the new patterns and methods that survive the experimental stage should demonstrate their desirability through rigorous evaluative procedures.

Technological developments in teaching method and equipment have gone hand in hand with new patterns of better staff utilization. Many of the new and experimental practices are merely extensions, refinements, or adaptations of practices and equipment that have been available for years. This revolution in the media of instruction will have some far-reaching effects on *how* teachers teach. Television is already an accepted part of the school program in numerous school systems. With each school year more schools are utilizing especially prepared TV programs for in-class use. In the

elementary schools, for instance, it has been used to present expert lessons in arithmetic, in science, in art. Many teachers welcome this help, especially if they feel inadequate in some subjects. Moreover, the fact that young children have had a skilled teacher make number concepts clear to them helps them in their later learning. But such teaching skill is likely to be rather rare. The recent emphasis on science has found that teachers lack the necessary background; the TV science teacher can fill the gap. The same thing is true of foreign language instruction. In one program, for instance, the elementary school French course was first shown to teachers before school opened in the morning so that they would know what would be coming in class and could make their own preparations. Then the lesson was given to the children. The teacher was ready with exercises and follow-up activities. This method helped train the teachers as well as the children.

The use of television at the junior and senior high school level has meant that some courses, such as physics and chemistry, are now more readily available for more schools than heretofore. Some school systems have experimented with using TV in almost every subject field, with more success in some than in others.

We are still in the beginning stages of learning how to use educational TV. We need to find out, for instance, just how much viewing a day a student can do efficiently. At what point does he begin to drift away and cease paying attention? What ages respond best to what kinds of presentations? What is the unique contribution that TV can make in any given subject field? What is the best spacing in any subject between TV presentations? How can the classroom teacher and the

⁴J. Lloyd Trump and Dorsey Baynham. *Guide to Better Schools* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1961).

TV teacher cooperate and coordinate their efforts? How can TV be tailored to varying student interests and ability levels? These are some of the unanswered questions about this medium. In the next few years teachers now entering the field will be helping to find the answers.

Television is familiar at home. In the future it may be as familiar at school. Other electronic devices, some now available and others only in the drawing-board or experimental stages, promise also to influence what teachers do as well as how they do it.

With the support of federal funds, electronic devices are helping the foreign-language teacher. Using prepared tapes and individual receiving sets, a teacher can give a whole classroom authentic hearing and speaking experiences. Students can make their own recordings, listen to them, and thereby correct pronunciation.

The tape recorder is a versatile tool in other subject fields also. It has many uses: to bring to class speeches or interviews from the field, or programs on TV or on radio that some may not have heard. Students can tape speeches, write plays, practice music—all with recordings of their own work. Tapes of student-teacher presentations are used to help the beginner hear himself.

The teaching machine is a device which enables an individual student to go through a preset sequence of carefully prepared questions which, by the time he has completed the sequence, has given him a course of instruction. This is called "programed learning." A particular concept, for instance, is broken down into the smallest segments of logical development; these are put in the form of completion, fill-in, or multiple-choice questions. When these are placed on a

machine to be answered by the student, he is told immediately whether his answer is right or wrong and if he can then go on to the next question. The aim of the programmer is to make each step so small and so self-evident that even the least able student can figure out what the probable answer is, and thus proceed through the entire program. A bright student who draws inferences quickly can perhaps cover a whole sequence in algebra in a few weeks. A slower student may take several months. But both are supposed to achieve a basic understanding of algebra.

The learning program may also be presented in book form. There are now on the market programmed books which differ from traditional texts.⁵ They differ in that their pages consist of strips of questions. The answer is found on the edge of the next page. The student "reads" the book one strip at a time. That is, he follows the top strip through for about ten to fifteen pages. Then he goes back to the first page and follows the next strip through. And so forth. Each question builds up a series of concepts in small, logical steps.

A "scramble text" puts into book form the multiple-choice or "branching" approach to programmed learning. The student selects one of three answers to a question. If he selects the right one, he proceeds to the next major question. If he selects the wrong one, he is directed to a back page of the book where his error is analyzed. The book cannot be read in sequence, but only as directed according to the choices made.

⁵ Joseph C. Blumenthal, *English 2600* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1960); and James G. Holland and G. F. Skinner, *The Analysis of Behavior* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1961).

Can a machine do what teachers can do in terms of rewards, empathy, motivation, and so forth? The answer is not yet known; we have not yet been able to find out what it is teachers are good for that machines may not be able to do better. That is, in essence, a rather horrible idea. In fact, at the moment there is some indication that machines may do some teaching for some students better than some teachers do—for the simple reason that the “teaching” in the machine is so very carefully constructed. If teachers thought through the logical steps in each concept as carefully as must be done to put a program on a machine, undoubtedly they would do as well; but teachers do not do this kind of carefully reasoned concept development. For one thing, it takes thousands and thousands of hours to develop one really adequate “program.” A teacher, who must teach any number of units each year or each semester, could never have the time to develop his own programs. Nor would he probably have the skill. It is predicted, however, that the advent of programs for machines and in text form will cause some radical shifts in how teachers teach as well as in the pacing of learning. The consequent potential in terms of content placement staggers the imagination.

Never before are so many imaginative new teaching devices being developed to help the teacher. One device gives each student three pushbuttons at his desk. These are connected to a console on the teacher’s desk. The teacher can then ask a question to which there are three choices for answers. The student pushes what he considers the appropriate button on his desk. This lights up simultaneously on the teacher’s console. The teacher can tell at a glance how many have selected the right answer, how many are wrong,

how many do not know. He can immediately call upon a student to explain why his answer was right, or what he did or did not understand, or the teacher may need to repeat and modify a presentation because so few understood it. This device makes use of the concept of immediate “feedback.” The teacher knows right away what the students are thinking, or think they are thinking. He can instantly adjust his teaching.

The overhead projector, another device which has recently won a place in the development of newer teaching approaches, enables the instructor to face his class, yet have projected overhead and behind him an illustration, a slide, a graph, a page from a book, or similar material about which he is talking. He can use his pencil on the slide in front of him to call attention to important points, and this is immediately seen by the class on the projected image. Thus many demonstrations which require everyone to see some object are now available that heretofore could only be described by the teacher or be seen by the fortunate few in the front seats. A whole new program in the teaching of college freshmen English has been developed around the use of the overhead projector so that students can see what the professor means by condemning a weak sentence or praising the use of vivid adjectives.⁶

IMPLICATIONS FOR SCHOOL ORGANIZATION

These are exciting new aids to the teacher. Previous generations of teachers occasionally used radio as a teaching aid.

⁶ Edwin L. Peterson, “A Magic Lantern for English,” *NEA Journal*, 51:18-19 (October 1962).

Then school films were developed, and most schools today use many films throughout the year. Filmstrips and other projected material have been fairly standard equipment. The difference between these aids and the new ones is twofold. For one thing, today's devices appear to have more flexibility, and they develop and bring new insights into the teaching-learning situation. For another thing, they are helping to make possible another revolution in education in the organization of the school day and the structure of the school building.

For example, schedules are being changed in secondary schools which wish to make maximum use of these devices. Large-class instruction is possible with these media, as well as individual instruction. Pacing of presentation must keep up with the fastest as well as wait for the slowest, which means that individual schedules are required instead of class schedules. Some of the newer scheduling procedures, using data-processing machines where available, are already in operation in some of our secondary schools. In such schools, students spend some time in very large classes, receiving instruction via TV or from a lecturer who uses all the available visual aids for assistance; then they go on to very small groups—often of ten or twelve members—where they discuss freely the implications of what they are learning. A considerable portion of a student's time is spent in individual study, using teaching machines or working in laboratories on experiments or on individual projects in art, home economics, industrial arts, social studies, literature. Will the secondary school of the future resemble these experimental schools of today? We do not know. We suspect, however, that in

many ways tomorrow's school is bound to be different.

Elementary schools, too, are being changed by these new media. During the last several decades the "self-contained" classroom was the typical unit. With the TV teacher entering the scene, the position of the self-contained classroom is being challenged. Also, as new approaches to subject matter are developed—such as the "set" theory in arithmetic—teachers call on experts to do this new teaching for them. Because of the problems of pacing to meet individual differences, of meeting children's apparent needs for continuity and support, the future pattern of elementary school instruction is not clear.

THE SCHOOL OF THE FUTURE: A NEW LOOK

What do schools look like? The forbidding three-story building of the nineteenth century is not too different from the "modern" three-story building, except that the latter has more window space, looks cleaner, has more grass around it, and is considerably larger. The factory look of many school buildings has persisted into today. But the future school may well have quite a different appearance if some current pioneering efforts to change it gain general acceptance.

Because of the impending changes in the whole approach to teaching, the school building itself must change to facilitate this kind of instruction. The "new" schools, for instance, need more very large rooms, and many more very small rooms, plus large libraries with facilities for individual study. Laboratories need individual cubicles for continued

experiments. Flexibility of floor space usage is more needed than ever before; walls that can be moved as classes change and yet still be soundproof. The school of the future, and many have already been built, is one where esthetic concerns are as important as plumbing. To surround children and youth with beautiful and serene environments makes for not only more disciplined youngsters, but ones who will absorb new notions about what contributes to cultured living. Music in labs, lounges, and lunchrooms helps to create an atmosphere of quiet and ease. The campus type of school, with plenty of open space and places for students to sit and study outdoors, is being developed in a number of places. Windowless schools, which air conditioning makes feasible, are also being built; hence year-round instruction is possible even in hot climates. The cost of building such schools has been found to be little if any more than the cost of a conventional school. The adaptibility of the new type of school building plus the rewards of the improved quality of learning it encourages, lead us to be optimistic about the future of these major new developments in schoolhouse construction.

SUMMARY

Starting with some concrete, on-the-spot descriptions of a day in the life of two typical teachers, the teacher's professional role has been defined. The tasks of the teacher, the elements involved in teacher competency for both prospective and in-service teachers, and present experimental programs that may represent significant new departures in teaching method have all been explored. The future role of the teacher will change rap-

idly. Technology and automation are now becoming terms that are used seriously in education. These factors make teaching as a career both exciting and, in a sense, dangerous today—dangerous in that the management of the machine has always been man's problem since machines were first invented. In no other field is it more important that man and his intellect remain master of his technological products.

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4

The Education of a Teacher

You have decided to become a teacher. You are now engaged in the process of preparing yourself to be one. You are probably reasonably well aware of what kinds of experiences you will have to have, what standards you will have to meet, and the skills by which you will have to demonstrate proficiency at your particular college before you will be recognized as a fully qualified teacher. Have you ever wondered why this is the way a teacher is prepared? Have you sometimes thought that you would do it differently if you could? If you have had such questions and such doubts, you should know that these are shared by many other people, even by those in charge of teacher education programs. Teacher education today is in a state of change and may present quite a different appearance a generation hence.

Historically teacher education has had a long and interesting course in this country. Early teachers had no special training. It was not until about 1823 that the first private normal school was established in Vermont. The first state-supported normal school was established at Lexington, Massachusetts, in 1839. From then on, institutions for the preparation of teachers spread rapidly. By the end of the nineteenth century hundreds of teachers colleges, normal schools, and university departments of education were to be found throughout the land.

The first programs in teacher education were of very short duration. Terms of four weeks were common. These were made up primarily of courses of highly specific teaching procedures and techniques, concentrating almost entirely on instruction in the teaching of reading, arithmetic, and handwriting. The instructions were extremely detailed and precise, and as one reads some of these early materials one is reminded of certain "do-it-yourself kits" that can be bought today. Teaching was perceived as a step-by-step series of performances requiring relatively little intellectual background or skill. Certainly the services rendered by a teacher trained in such a manner would not qualify as professional.

In the Midwest in particular, county normal schools persisted for a long period of time. As a matter of fact, today there are still county normal schools in some counties in that area. At one time students could enter a county normal from the eighth grade and with as little as from three to nine months' training earn a certificate to teach in a rural school. The curriculum of these county normals was completely methods-centered: the students

were given specific instructions for teaching from specific books in a specific way. One of the strange truths that we must admit today is that these teachers did succeed in teaching, and that the basic education of many individuals who later achieved prominence was gained from such teachers. Probably these people learned in spite of the teachers and the narrow curriculums they had to study.

By the end of the century many professional programs were emerging, typified by the establishment of Teachers College at Columbia University in 1887. Interestingly enough, Teachers College was established by a man who was a professor of philosophy, Nicholas Murray Butler.

Gradually a point of view regarding teacher education developed which in general saw the making of a teacher as an educational process rather than as a training process. The difference is significant. Education involves changing an individual as well as providing him with information and skills. Training is generally seen as a more routine process limited largely to the development of precise skills. County normals, for example, trained teachers to go through certain forms and certain activities with students. There was no attempt to explain the behavior taught nor was any allowance made for individual judgment.

The final stage in the professionalization of the education of teachers began during the late 1920's and proceeded rapidly through the 1930's and 1940's. This period was characterized by the transformation of teachers colleges and remaining normal schools to multipurpose state colleges and, in many cases, to state universities. Teacher education today is still undergoing changes. Few of the per-

sons responsible for leadership in the field are satisfied with what exists. The opportunities for improvement are great, particularly now that the professional education of teachers, which can now be carried on in a professional college in a multipurpose university, is coming to be on a par with the professional education of students in other fields. This takes teacher education out of the realm of being training for a sideline or of being a means of earning a living while a person is preparing himself for a career in another field.

BECOMING A TEACHER IS A LIFELONG TASK

It can be said that becoming a qualified member of any true profession is a lifelong process. This is so because many of the elements that help to determine success in one's work, excellence of performance, and happiness on the job are actually products of the total development of a person. There is no other way to account for the vast differences in performance found among people in all lines of work who may have had similar preparation for their jobs.

These aspects of preparation for teaching, however, are in a sense behind you. These are done. They cannot be changed. You "are what you are." The task of the formal teacher education program is to select individuals with certain characteristics and prepare them to teach school. The only way the college program can take into consideration the growth that has already occurred is to develop ways of selecting only applicants who present qualifications which experience and study have shown to offer the best prospects for

teaching competency. This makes it necessary to build into the teacher education program sufficient flexibility so that it can be adjusted to the backgrounds and needs of each individual applicant.

Growth and proficiency in a profession are lifelong because professional work is in the nature of "practice." Just as we say that a lawyer practices law and a doctor practices medicine, we can say that a teacher practices teaching. This means that the professional person's performance and competency are always to some extent a function of his individual interpretation of professional behavior. For example, an individual with symptoms of illness might consult two or more physicians. It is quite possible that he would receive different advice and different medication and even a different diagnosis. Does this mean that medicine is a nonscientific, imprecise, haphazard profession? The answer is no, for even though the specifics of the treatment and advice might differ, their objectives should be similar. Here is another example. A few years ago it became increasingly apparent that sooner or later a large bridge would have to be built across a body of water. Engineers and consulting engineering firms were asked to study the situation and to recommend possible procedures and to estimate the probable costs of building the bridge. Among the suggestions which came from these studies were the following:

1. The bridge was not feasible.
2. The rock substrata was not strong enough to support a conventional bridge structure and therefore the only solution would be to build a causeway, the expense of which would be prohibitive.
3. A structure consisting of part sus-

pension bridge and part causeway should be built.

4. Even though the substrata presented difficulties, adequate foundation for the bridge could be provided by extra strong and deep concrete footings.

In this example we are dealing with one of our more exact sciences. Presumably, these various suggestions were made on the basis of specific, measurable evidence, rock density secured from core drillings, depth soundings, and the like. As a result a bridge was finally built, generally based upon the last recommendation, and it shows every indication of being structurally sound and safe.

The main point of these examples is this: involved in all professional decisions is a personal, individual factor which results from practice, and even in the more exact professions a strong element of individualism is present. This is the particular function in professionalism that is never completely "trained" nor is it ever completely finished in terms of learning.

We recall that of the teachers George had no two were alike. Probably none of the teachers that you have had were alike. In fact, we can safely say that there are no two teachers in the country today who are exactly alike. At firsthand this would appear to be certain evidence that, regardless of what kind of teacher education program we have, their professional education makes remarkably little impact on the individuals concerned. This really is not the case, however.

The task of a teacher education program is to provide the candidate with a disciplined set of knowledge and skills on which he can base his operations as a creative practitioner in his own speciality.

RECRUITMENT, SELECTION, AND SCREENING

All professions seek to secure the best possible candidates for entrance into their group. The strength and vigor of a profession depends upon the quality of its members. The competition that exists for top members of high school graduating classes is far more real than may be obvious. In such professions as medicine, law, and engineering, where material returns are high and public recognition is assured, recruitment may be less necessary. But even here there is evidence that these professions actively recruit.

In the teaching profession recruitment should be, theoretically, easier than in any other profession. This is so because practicing members of the profession have firsthand contact with young people at the time they are making vocational decisions. Indeed, many teachers actually participate in the making of these decisions and are consulted by both parents and students. This should give teaching an "inside track" which no other profession has. Whether or not this has served to the advantage of teaching is not known. Probably it has not: teachers have been reluctant to use their positions to influence young people to go into teaching.

There are, however, many programs specifically designed to recruit young people into teaching. Of the formalized recruitment programs sponsored by the profession, four major programs are in existence by which the profession seeks to encourage young people to go into teaching. One of these is the Future Teachers of America, sponsored by the NEA. In 1960-1961 there were 5089 formally organized FTA clubs. This means that there are a large number of high schools where

there is no FTA club. This is one area then where teachers could be more active in recruiting for the profession.

A second effort of the profession to recruit young people into teaching is the sponsorship of Student NEA chapters on college campuses. Obviously this program involves less recruitment than does the FTA clubs since Student NEA members are already committed to becoming teachers. Nevertheless the Student NEA clubs, numbering 819 chapters with a membership of 63,500 in 1960, served to help retain the interest of their members in teaching as well as to recruit well-qualified young people into teaching.

The third procedure by which the profession formally recruits is by participating actively and positively in career day programs of various kinds in high schools. These affairs give an opportunity to teachers and department of education people from colleges to present to high school students the advantages and rewards of a teaching career.

The fourth formal approach to recruitment functions as part of the regular vocational guidance program of any good high school. Guidance counselors have material available to help high school students decide what field of work they would like to enter. Excellent materials are available from the NEA which explain to a young person why he might find a rewarding and profitable life career in teaching.

In many parts of the country cadet teaching programs have been in effect for several years. Varying in detail, they have generally involved older high school youth in part-time teaching experiences with children. For example, Indiana has a formally organized cadet teaching program administered from the state's Education Office which involves several thou-

sand high school people each year.

Probably the most effective way that practicing teachers can recruit young people for the profession is to be living examples of the advantages of being a teacher. Studies that have been made of prospective teachers and their motives for becoming teachers show that a large proportion of them chose teaching as a career because of the influence of one or more outstanding teachers in their lives. This influence is not always a direct one; it is often more subtle in that it influences the student by honestly representing teaching as a life that has many compensations and challenges not found in any other line of work. It should not be surprising to find people attracted to work in which others seem to be happy and productive, but repelled by occupations which make people bitter and unhappy.

Even if the profession were able to recruit far more teacher candidates than could possibly be absorbed, the job would be only half done. The most important part of the program is the selection, from among interested young people, of those who will ultimately become teachers. The idea of selection in teacher education is fairly new. When it is difficult to secure workers in any field, there is normally less concern about selection. It is naturally felt that the first problem is simply to fill the needed positions. However, even though we have been experiencing an acute teacher shortage since the beginning of World War II, the teaching profession and the public schools have been giving increasing attention to what has come to be known as selective retention in teacher education. Although encouraging, this emphasis on selection has not progressed as rapidly as most people in education would wish. Particularly in the minds of the general

public has the need for selection not been considered as a problem. As Lieberman says:

Educational leaders seem to be set on the notion that however low the standards for teachers have to be set, and however little the community is willing to pay, there must be a teacher wherever there are children of school age. Qualifications are lowered if necessary to get someone in the classroom. However, there is no evidence that the public is better served by a low level, mass semi-profession than by a smaller, higher quality group which is admittedly incapable of providing complete service to everyone. To be frank, it might be better to shut down those schools now staffed with untrained or poorly trained personnel flitting in and out of education and undermining every effort to build a real profession of education.

Our equalitarian ideals make us shrink at the sight of boys and girls without schools. Equal recognition needs to be given to the possibility that incompetent teachers are a bigger waste of human resources than no teachers at all. The real tragedy for children is a lack of educational opportunities, not the mere absence of schooling or of persons labeled "teachers."¹

How do institutions go about the job of selecting candidates for teacher education? Is it possible to do this with some degree of objectivity? Is it simply a matter of academic proficiency? And how many institutions even attempt to select according to significant standards? Answers to these questions are not easy to come by, but some reasonably accurate figures are available. In an unpublished study by Magee it was found that only about 7 percent of the 187 public colleges and universities had no special admission to teacher education criteria other than regular admission to the college.

¹ Myron Lieberman, *Education as a Profession* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1956), pp. 415-416. Reprinted by permission of Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Thirty-six percent had special admission standards for student teaching in the senior year. Ten percent had formal admission to teacher education procedures after, and in addition to, admission to the institution. In 45 percent of the institutions both screening procedures were in use.²

Some institutions rely heavily on a single formal criterion—grade point average. Frequently this criterion is the same figure that the student must meet in order to remain in college and therefore it cannot truly be said to be a selection factor for teacher education. Other institutions use such procedures as results of certain kinds of tests and specific academic average in certain subject areas, i.e., a certain average for one's major, for education courses, and so on. Others require of the candidate a satisfactory field experience with children or youth. A good many institutions require recommendations from a student's major subject department and certainly from the student's adviser.

The tests that may be used to determine selection are limited. The only test of any significance that has been developed specifically for use in teacher education is the *Minnesota Teacher Attitudes Inventory*, published by the Psychological Corporation, New York. However, this test does not claim to be particularly predictive of teacher success, but has shown some ability to predict satisfaction or happiness in teaching.

An interesting attempt to get at the attitudes of teacher candidates with regard

to teaching has been described by Ohlsen and Schultz. In this experiment students projected their own concepts of the teaching role and the personal qualities desirable for it by identifying these qualities in others. Much more work of this kind will probably be done in an attempt to develop valid projective techniques to be used in the selection of outstanding candidates for teaching in terms of personality and emotional factors necessary for a good teacher.³

In general, most selection efforts among good teacher education institutions today center around the following kinds of criteria:

- Academic average
- Average in specific kinds of courses
- Test results
- Field experience evaluations
- Health evaluations
- Speech evaluations
- Emotional and personality evaluations

TEACHER EDUCATION TODAY

Teachers are educated today in several kinds of programs and in several kinds of institutions. The programs are in some ways becoming more diverse as the profession enters what appears to be a highly experimentation-oriented period. Colleges and university departments and schools of education are trying different kinds of changes in their programs. You may wish to browse in the literature of teacher education, such as the *Journal of Teacher Education*, and the recent Yearbook of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education.

² Robert M. Magee, "Admission-Retention Procedures Found in Teacher Education Programs Operated by Publicly Supported Institutions Accredited by the NCATE," an unpublished study, Wayne University, Detroit, Mich., 1959.

³ Merle M. Ohlsen and Raymond E. Schultz, "As Best and Poorest Student Teachers Are Seen by Their Peers," *Educational Administration and Supervision*, 40:22-28 (No. 1; 1954).

It would require more than one chapter to provide even a superficial analysis of the details of these experimental programs. For present purposes it is perhaps best to attempt to identify only the broad outlines of a typical conventional program and then mention of few of the kinds of new or experimental programs that have attracted attention during the past few years. Teacher education, as is true of all highly institutionalized structures, will probably not change overnight as a result of one single, new, revolutionary type of program. Instead, the education of teachers will gradually change in small ways over a period of years as a result of experimental evaluations and of many studies made by hundreds of institutions and study groups.

The typical teacher education program today is made up of three basic parts. These are the same categories of experiences that will be discussed in Chapter 15 with regard to the intellectual requirements of a profession. Consequently, in describing these courses only, slight reference to them needs to be made here.

1. *General education* is that part of the student's program which consists of courses and experiences generally provided students preparing for all professions. It is sometimes called the liberal education each college graduate should receive. These are the course experiences that, it is hoped, will develop the student in history, government, the fine arts, and provide introductory foundations in science and mathematics. Here the student learns to communicate on a mature level and to participate with his fellow human beings as a disciplined and informed individual. This is what general education is supposed to do.

2. *Special education* is that part of the program where the student delves deeply into one area of study or possibly two related areas. He has a "major" and probably a "minor." It is felt that the somewhat superficial study of many areas that comprises general education needs to be reinforced by an intense study of one or perhaps two areas in order to give insights and appreciations that will build respect and confidence regarding the contributions of all other disciplines. In the case of the prospective teacher this area of specialization also becomes the area in which he will teach. In an academic sense this part of his program is the student's most challenging and stimulating because in most cases he is studying in a field in which he is profoundly interested.

3. *Professional education* is that part of the student's program where he learns the basic knowledge and functions of a professional teacher. The courses he has include all those in the behavioral sciences which contribute to education and those in the discipline of education which underlie the teaching function. They include field experiences where he actively interacts and participates with children and youth and where he gains insights regarding the daily tasks, problems, and professional behavior of the practicing teacher. This is the only part of his teacher education which he must take because he is going to be a teacher. Put in another way, it is his professional education experiences that will distinguish him as a teacher among all other college-educated individuals, just as the medical education courses and the ward and practical medical experiences that a medical student has differentiate him from other scientifically trained individuals.

Obviously, these three phases of higher education leading to certification as a teacher are not mutually exclusive nor are they discrete and sharply defined in terms of time. The student, in other words, does not take each phase up at a time. They overlap and contribute mutually to each other. For example, good modern programs of teacher education take into consideration the fact that the techniques and methods used in college courses influence the prospective teacher with regard to his own techniques and methods. Therefore, it is essential that the quality of teaching that characterizes the courses prospective teachers take should be of the very highest. Moreover, these courses should utilize the latest materials and methods, and in general the technology should be such that the future teachers in these classes can learn much about good teaching by example and imitation.

The proportion of time devoted to each of the three parts of teacher education described above varies considerably. A reasonable estimate of the average proportion of the total four-year program of a prospective teacher that is devoted to each of these areas is as follows: general education, 25–35 percent; special education, 40–50 percent; and professional education, 15–30 percent. These kinds of figures, however, are largely meaningless, since institutions vary considerably among themselves with regard to what they consider professional education and special education; furthermore, the proportions may be quite different when one compares elementary with secondary programs.

As has been indicated above, throughout the country there are many interesting deviations from this typical pattern. These are deviations not only in content

but in scope and sequence. For example, in many large university programs students do not even enroll in the college of education nor take any education courses until at least their junior year. In other institutions students begin to take teaching-oriented courses and even have part-time field experiences beginning with the freshman year and continuing throughout the four years. During the last fifteen years an increasing number of institutions have moved rapidly toward a five-year program in teacher education. In 1955 four states and territories required five years of college preparation for initial certification of secondary school teachers, only thirty required four years for initial elementary teaching and forty-five had the same requirement for secondary teaching. Each year since then more states have adopted new regulations requiring at least five years for final full certification.

It may be both profitable and interesting to compare the pattern of teacher education at your institution with those in certain comparable institutions. It is probably correct to say that there are weaknesses in all programs and certain strengths in most programs. Such an examination of your own program should not be intended as a critical activity but rather as a means of making concrete and more realistic that which we have discussed here on a theoretical level.

ORGANIZED TEACHER EDUCATION—ACCREDITATION AND CERTIFICATION.

All professional schools, that is colleges and universities or college and university departments, engaging in the preparation of professional people have their own

national organizations. There are groups concerned with engineering education, medical education, and so on. Teacher education also has its organizations. Such organizations of any consequence began in 1917 with the American Association of Teachers Colleges (AATC). Several other groups were formed afterward. This often presented a confusing and even somewhat competitive picture nationally, particularly when one considers that some of these organizations engaged in accreditation activities.

In 1948 a major step forward was achieved when three of the largest groups gave up their separate identities and formed a new and stronger organization, The American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (AACTE). At the same time this group affiliated itself with the National Education Association as an autonomous department. The AACTE is supported mainly by institutional dues, that is, its membership does not consist of individuals but of institutions which pay dues on a sliding scale according to their enrollments in teacher education. In 1961 there were 580 institutions in the AACTE.

A similar situation with regard to accreditation in teacher education existed for many years. The strong regional accreditation associations with which you are familiar, such as the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools and the Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, accredited teacher education programs but only as part of the total college or university program. In addition such groups as the old AATC accredited only that portion of a college or university program devoted to teacher education. There were groups which accredited nationally, regionally, as well as on a

state-wide basis. The situation was confusing and sometimes chaotic.

Many people consider that a major landmark in the history of teacher education was achieved in 1954 when the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) was formed. All the existing teacher education accrediting groups agreed to cease their accreditation activities and abide by the accreditation program of the National Council. The importance of this move cannot be overestimated as a significant step forward.

During its first few years of existence the new National Council needed to prove that a single accrediting agency could do the job of many agencies and do it better. As this book is being written it would appear that NCATE has proved to be a success. Probably not all is harmonious in the teacher education family. Any agency which has the power of approving or disapproving programs of institutions cannot always be popular with everyone. To go into detail with regard to how NCATE functions is clearly not a function of this kind of book. If any staff members of your institution have ever served on an NCATE evaluation team, they might be willing to describe to your class how such teams function as well as some of the problems they face. Is your institution accredited by NCATE? When was it last inspected? If it is accredited you should know that you can go into most of the other states in our country and, simply by reason of having graduated from an NCATE-accredited institution, be given automatic teacher certification in your field. In 1960, for example, approximately 400 of 1150 teacher education institutions were accredited by NCATE. These 400 institutions turned out about 70 percent of

the teachers who graduated that year. This means that even today approximately one third of the teachers who are graduating are coming from nonaccredited institutions. A major step forward in the professionalization of teaching will have taken place when no teacher is allowed to be certified to teach who does not graduate from an accredited program.

The certification of teachers is a state responsibility in this country. In strict, legal terminology certification simply means the granting of a license to function in a certain speciality. Members of most professions must be licensed in order to practice. Doctors, for example, may get a doctor of medicine degree but they may not practice medicine until they have passed a state medical examination and have been granted a license to practice medicine. The same is true for lawyers, dentists, veterinarians, and so on. Teaching is one of the few professions that does not have state examining boards as a prerequisite for licensing. Also, states vary a great deal in the kinds of standards they establish and use as a basis for certifying teachers. On paper most states now require a bachelor's degree for the initial teacher certificate. In addition to the degree, most states also require, on paper, the accomplishment of stated curricular requirements having to do with the speciality of teaching. In actual practice, however, various kinds of loopholes allow many teachers to teach with as little as one year of college training beyond high school. No other profession would allow such a situation to continue. On the other hand, some states now require the eventual achievement of a master's degree or its equivalent for permanent certification.

In general, during the period since the end of World War II teacher certifica-

tion standards have steadily risen. This is doubly remarkable when one considers that this has been a period of intense shortages in the supply of teachers. Normally standards are raised only when oversupplies exist. On the other hand, it has been demonstrated many times that the raising of standards seldom, if ever, reduces the number of applicants to enter a profession. In fact, the lowering of standards often results in a reduction in the number of candidates. The reasons for these somewhat illogical phenomena seem to be basically rooted in the manner in which we ascribe status and prestige to vocational areas in this country.

One of the most encouraging and promising trends at the present time in teacher certification is toward institutional recommendation as a basis for certification. Until recently state certification offices granted certificates to teach in specific areas according to whether or not the kinds of courses that each individual had taken met the rather inflexible requirements that the state board had set up. There were certain assumptions inherent in this kind of system that were difficult to defend. For example, this system assumed that if a person had had a course or a set of courses in a certain area he must possess the knowledge and the competencies implied by having taken these courses. School administrators and teachers have known for years that this is not necessarily so at all. Furthermore, the setting up of certification standards in terms of inflexible listings of course requirements tended to dilute the responsibility of preparing institutions for producing qualified teachers. In other words, an institution did not have to say, in effect, "It is our job to produce good teachers"; instead, it was, "If we give

students these courses they will be licensed to teach."

A strong profession clearly needs to have someone assume responsibility for decision making with regard to whether or not an individual can or cannot teach school. Therefore, current certification programs are tending more and more to say, in effect, to institutions, "You set up what you feel is your perception of a strong teacher education program, and if we find this program generally acceptable and if it is accredited by NCATE, then we will automatically grant certification to your graduates if you will certify to us with regard to each of these individuals that they are now ready to teach school in the area in which they are prepared and that this recommendation has behind it the integrity of the institution." This procedure clearly places responsibility upon the institutions. This in turn should stimulate institutions to study their programs to make sure that the kinds of experiences they require of each of their students will indeed produce a teacher who can be given the institution's recommendation.

Another trend today is toward more depth and specialization for secondary school teachers. The most obvious example of this is the fact that minor requirements are being dropped and major requirements are being strengthened in many institutional programs. The explanation for this trend lies largely in the fact that an increasing number of students are now attending larger high schools where specialization on the part of staff members is more common. A generation ago, when there were thousands of very small high schools, it was often necessary for a teacher to be able to teach in two and sometimes three subject areas.

TEACHER EDUCATION IN THE FUTURE

In addition to the trend noted above, one may predict certain broad developments in teacher education that probably will come about if present trends continue. One of these developments will surely be a lengthening of the time for the preparation of teachers to at least six years. What will take place during this six-year period will vary greatly among institutions and states. A significant portion of the additional years will probably be devoted to increased requirements in field experiences. These will vary from early observations in classrooms to responsible internship teaching.

These remarks suggest another development which present trends strongly indicate: the future will see increasingly close partnership relations between teacher education institutions and public schools and practicing, experienced teachers. This "togetherness" will be an extension of a trend evident for the last twenty to thirty years. Prior to that time, college and university laboratory schools constituted the major source of placement for prospective teachers for observation, participation, and student teaching experiences. Now, increasing numbers of institutions are placing their students in public schools for these kinds of experiences.

With greater use of closed-circuit television and educational TV channels it is to be expected that the classrooms of public schools may be brought into the classrooms of college professional courses at the flick of a switch.

Teachers of the future, as indicated by rapidly developing practice today, will have to be proficient in using the new electronic equipment that even now is

found in classrooms. This equipment includes electronic language laboratories, teaching machines, and various kinds of data-processing equipment. Truly the day of Mark Hopkins on one end of a log and a student on the other is no more. Some educators, in fact, are predicting that teachers may have to become highly trained "learning engineers," and that methods and equipment of teaching may become obsolete before a prospective teacher even has a chance to use the ones on which he was educated.

One other practice may mark the teaching of the future. Increasingly, teaching may make use of teacher aides—persons who are not trained as teachers but serve as subprofessional assistants to teachers. This type of development would be consistent with what has happened in other professions. Medicine, engineering, nursing, and other professions have for some time utilized assistants. Teaching is due for this approach to economic use of the teacher's time.

All these predictions suggest basic modifications in the programs of teacher education: Inevitably such programs will have to be longer. Much of what now may be considered as essential may have to be dropped or changed. Truly the future appears to be exciting and challenging!

SUMMARY

Teacher education today is built around the three areas of professional education to be discussed in Chapter 15, general education, specialized education, and professional education. Included in any consideration of teacher education must be such topics as recruitment, selection, and screening. Accreditation is also a factor

in providing real professional education for prospective teachers. The future will undoubtedly see drastic and significant changes in teacher education.

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THE CHILDREN AND YOUTH WHO
COME TO SCHOOL ARE THE HEART
OF THE EDUCATIONAL EFFORT OF
A NATION. THE SCHOOL ACCEPTS
THEM AS THEY COME, FROM THE
SMALL BEGINNER ON THE WAY TO
SCHOOL FOR THE FIRST TIME TO
THE SOPHISTICATED ADOLESCENT,
THE CHILD OF WEALTH AND THE
CHILD OF POVERTY, THE CHILD
WITH A RICH BACKGROUND TO
THE CHILD OF MLAGIR EXPERI-
ENCES. ALL ARE DIFFERENT, ALL ARE
ACCEPTED AND BECOME CHAL-
LENGES TO THE TEACHERS THEY
WILL HAVE.

PART II



NEA

*The
Student*



NEA



NEA

NEA



5

Children and Youth in School

The most important people in the professional lives of teachers are children and youth. Yet these human offspring are bafflingly hard to describe or characterize. The little boys in striped T-shirts and blue jeans who look so much alike from a distance, become extraordinarily different upon close acquaintance. The teen-agers who seem to want to be as much like each other as possible are actually not nearly as much alike as they appear. The phenomenon of human variety is everywhere around us. For teachers, this is a source of mingled satisfaction and challenge.

Prospective teachers spend much time learning about boys and girls. They are the basic stuff of the teaching profession. Put in another way, teachers are experts on children and youth. To teach any group of individuals, whether they are age six or twenty-five, requires first, of course, that the teacher is expert in what

he is to teach, and, second, that the teacher thoroughly understands the learners he will be teaching and the learning process itself.

In the pages that follow, attention is directed to several characteristics of children and youth that are important to teachers. Most of the discussion directly or indirectly grows out of, or is related to, the ever-present and compelling reality of individual differences. There are many observers of the educational process who do not think that education can or should be adjusted to individual differences. Education, to them, is an intellectual activity, the content of which can be predetermined. Furthermore, although all students may not be able to learn the same things in the same amount of time, the curriculum and the teaching methods should not be modified in accordance with multiple individual differences.

Most educators are agreed, however, that since we cannot deny individual differences, and since we cannot change most of them even if we wanted to, then we actually do not have a choice and must plan our instructional programs with these differences in mind.

LIKENESSES AND DIFFERENCES GO TOGETHER

One of the things that make people so interesting, as well as so complicated, is the fact that they are alike in their differences and different in their likenesses! Tenth-grader John may be quite different from his friend Jim, in terms of the sum of all the human characteristics each presents. On the other hand, each reflects certain characteristics that are common not only between them but among a large proportion of boys of about age fifteen. One little example may help to make this clear. John is an easygoing, friendly, out-

going boy with special interests in sports and science. Jim is more quiet, less outgoing, more tense, and with special interests in dramatics and literature. In their high school, even among their friends, one can find a number of boys with characteristics similar to John's and other boys with characteristics similar to Jim's. Put in another way, one can find similarities among boys in terms of interests, personality traits, and abilities. The same, of course, is true for girls. Both differences and likenesses, then, can be based on the same factors.

Differences and likenesses pose serious problems for teachers. Boys and girls are usually grouped in accordance with one factor—age. Thus the students in any second-grade class are generally similar inasmuch as they are all approximately seven years old. This also means that they are all somewhat similar in size and weight, and have all learned certain culturally expected skills—how to eat, dress themselves, get to school, go to the toilet, and so on. These and many other similarities help a teacher since they enable her to plan learning experiences based upon certain assumed achievements. But the teacher soon finds that these children are not peas in a pod: under the superficial veneer of a few social skills and the deceptive sameness of a shared age level there is a host of differences. Furthermore, these differences are the kind that critically affect the readiness for and the selection of learning experiences each child can undertake, as well as the rate of progress he will make. For example, Fred's IQ of 130 and Helen's of 80 present the teacher with complicated problems. Fred can learn quickly, can master learning far more advanced than that provided for average second-graders, and he will probably have already learned,

both formally and informally, ten to twenty times as much as Helen. Helen, on the other hand, may be attractive, pleasant, and willing. But she will have great difficulty in understanding or learning material that Fred probably can master very quickly.

The other children in Fred's and Helen's room present other kinds of likenesses and differences. George and Sidney have identical IQ's. They come from very similar homes, they are very similar in size. George, however, has already revealed a pronounced talent in music. He plays the piano well and enjoys his lessons and practice. He is deeply sensitive to good music and enjoys his parents' record library. Sidney dislikes music and seems to have no interest even in the simple songs the teacher has taught the group.

Analysis of this second grade shows all kinds of other differences. Some of the children wear glasses, one has a serious speech handicap, another wears a hearing aid, oversize Bill is already as large as the average fifth-grade boy. Nancy is timid, uncertain, withdrawing; Gladys is boisterous, incessantly active, and always the center of a group of friends. These children comprise a *normal* second-grade class.

The kinds of differences noted in this one room, as well as hundreds of others, exist among any group of boys and girls. It does not matter how the group may have been selected: whether by age, size, IQ, kind of home, religious affiliation, color of hair, or size of shoe! We may classify according to any one factor and achieve sameness in a group with regard to that one factor—all other factors continue to present a picture of heterogeneity.

The problems posed for the teacher

by these differences in one second-grade group might make any prospective teacher retreat in alarm. In fact, the multiple problems posed by such differences have given educators headaches since the graded school first came into existence. Solutions have not been easy, since with each decade the number of children to educate has increased; hence a great deal of educational energy has been devoted just to keeping up with sheer numbers of students. However, it is probable that the schools in the future will continue to try out many devices for making the problem of individual variability more manageable in terms of the teacher's task.

DEVELOPMENTAL STAGES

Human beings develop from conception to maturity through reasonably predictable stages. There is a natural order by which we grow up. By this we mean that all human offspring seem to adhere to a general and sequential over-all pattern of growth. Social and cultural factors influence this sequence in very significant ways. Thus the most predictable stage of development is the prenatal period, where social and cultural forces operate at a minimum level; we might almost say that the child at this stage is protected against most environmental forces. The minute he is born, however, his development begins to be affected by the world in which he lives and the people in it.

Whole textbooks are written, and you will undoubtedly use some of them, about human development, its stages, and the multiple variations one finds in the sequence which are due to environmental forces. The important point to be considered is that while this chapter may

appear to describe children and youth predominantly in terms of differences, the teacher must constantly understand that these widely varying human beings do in fact conform to certain common patterns in their development. The process of education, broadly viewed, is that part of the environment of the growing child which is consciously and deliberately planned and directed toward the goal of *changing* the child in desired ways. Philosophically it follows, then, that one of the basic purposes of education is to produce maximum change—the greatest possible variation.

Different authors describe the sequential stages in different ways and terms. Mussen and Conger organize their findings around five very generalized stages which are referred to as (1) prenatal, (2) first and second year, (3) preschool, (4) middle childhood, and (5) adolescence.¹ Other writers are less specific, some preferring to indicate stages for different areas of development. For example, Erickson describes eight stages of personality development in terms of different "sense" achievements. These stages, as identified by Erickson, provide a useful framework for educational decisions.

The Sense of Trust

In infancy a child learns that he can (or cannot) trust the people in the world around him. He knows he will be fed when hungry, clothed and warmed, held securely and given affection. Children who fail to acquire this feeling of trust because of severe deprivation in infancy may grow up to be adults with severe mental illness or with psychopathic per-

¹ Paul H. Mussen and John J. Conger, *Child Development and Personality* (New York: Harper & Row, 1956), pp. xii, 569.

sonalities incapable of being concerned about anyone or anything. The most important basic ingredient of the healthy personality, the development of a sense of trust, is most likely to get a good start because both nature and the culture work toward making mothers most maternal when handling their own infants.

The Sense of Autonomy

From the age of one year until about the age of three the baby is trying to establish his own sense of being himself. He will explore endlessly, getting into everything, asserting the beginnings of his own difference from others.

The Sense of Initiative

Once having found out that he can, literally, stand on his own two feet, the child of four or five begins to move out into the world. He imitates adults—playing house, playing school, playing cowboy. He indulges in fantasy and exuberant creative play of all kinds. Yet so often the things the child dearly wants to do are beyond his ability. Then he flies into a rage of frustration and despair. A wise adult can guide his activities so that he need not feel defeated by these frustrations. Yet how easy it is to kill off the sense of initiative. Oversolicitous adults who say “no” to every enterprise, who do not give any recognition to the efforts that do succeed, who always point out what was done wrong can soon convince the child that nothing he wants to do is worth doing, or that he is unable to do anything. The child’s conscience is taking shape at this time, too, as well as his first feelings of guilt. When not wisely guided, the child who is overly fearful or the child who is a continually self-frustrating perfectionist develops during this stage of growth.

The Sense of Accomplishment

From age six until age twelve the child is learning to find pleasure in sheer accomplishment. But this cannot occur if damage has taken place in the three early stages of growth, which are probably the keys to all future development. Because this is true, the school builds on a foundation fairly well set by the time the child enters the first grade. Perhaps this is the strongest argument we have for early nursery school and kindergarten classes, since these facilities, staffed by competent teachers, may be able to make up for, or reduce, the handicaps that inadequate homes impose on so many children. The sense of accomplishment is perhaps the major responsibility of the elementary school. If their satisfaction in learning to read, to write, to use numbers, to handle a paint brush, to play in a rhythm band, to grow plants from seed is supported, children can then proceed confidently to ever-harder tasks. Knowing this, we need to examine with great care any program which tells children that some of them cannot succeed in anything or in doing things as well as others. Many delinquents express hatred of school which, early in their careers, identified them as persons who could not do things, as stupid or awkward. Some children who do not turn delinquent when told they are not as good as others become passive, accept their inferiority, and never again try to do anything.

The Sense of Identity

The feeling of identity has been called the crucial task of adolescence. It marks that stage which almost all young people share as they move from childhood through puberty into young adulthood.

During these years the young person asks himself, "Who am I?" To get an answer he may appear to do many bizarre and weird things. He attaches himself to a few close friends with whom he discusses endlessly the many peculiar things he is discovering about the world. The lucky adolescent is the one who works through to a rather clear sense of his own identity, with an accurate assessment of his abilities and with well-defined goals. Yet the culture makes this task no easy one for many adolescents. In fact, some observers are concerned because so many adolescents seem completely unable to find out who they are or where they are going.

The Sense of Intimacy

Once an individual has come to terms with himself, has some sense of his own identity, he can move forward into a close and absorbing relationship with another. Our culture surrounds the young person with alluring descriptions of love—to be loved and wanted, and to love and return love are represented as being the highest goals attainable. Many young people, like those in the fairy tales we read in our childhood, never see beyond the magic ending: "And they lived happily ever after!" There is a terrifying blank in the minds of youth once they have really "fallen in love." This is the end of all their searching: now every problem will be solved. It is, as we all know, not this easy. Love does not conquer all. The difficult task of the older adolescent is to move from self-concern into genuine concern for and feeling about another—being able to lose one's own identity in deep intimacy with a loved person. Too often the self-centeredness of the adolescent is never outgrown, and many a marriage has

founded because essentially the partners were selfish individuals who were still operating as adolescents in their relations with others.

The Parental Sense

Essential in the building of a family are adults who truly want children, adults who feel generous in giving their time and attention to the nurture and protection of the young. Having children of one's own is not a necessary part of the parental sense. Unfortunately, many parents as well as many teachers do not have this feeling about children. Our culture makes it almost mandatory for married couples to have, or obtain, children. Those who are childless by plan, or not, often feel guilty or apologetic. Yet many parents—as teachers can testify—are not able to provide the kind of affection and protection that children need. Basically they have no parental sense. This sense requires maturity of judgment, a willingness to defer one's own needs for those of others, to see young people as individuals not threats, a genuine liking for the company of the young.

The Sense of Integrity

As Erikson says, "The final component of the healthy personality is the sense of integrity. In every culture the dominant ideals, honor, courage, faith, purity, grace, fairness, self-discipline become at this stage the core of the healthy personality's integration." Such persons neither regret the life decisions they have made nor attempt to make others over in their own image. They see themselves and their world in the perspective of history, and view the future with confidence and determination. The dignity with which they live their own lives they

accord to others in their daily dealings.²

The eight stages of development briefly outlined above describe the kinds of growth experiences that all individuals share. Some succeed better than others as they grow from stage to stage. But all children grow—you can't stop them! And as they grow, their personalities change and develop. The teacher who can identify these common growth stages is well along the way to providing adequate help and support, so that the next stage may be successfully reached.

WHAT CHILDREN AND YOUTH NEED

It is worthwhile to take time to look at some commonly identified developmental needs of children and youth. Many lists are offered in the literature, and the following examples are not all-inclusive. They do serve, however, to provide insights into some ways in which all children and youth are alike, even while they differ in many other ways.

The Need to Be Part of a Human Group

There are few more devastating punishments than solitary isolation. A human being is basically a social being. The long period of infant dependency builds into the personality of all of us the fundamental fact that we are dependent on

others. Not only that, but we like other people. We need them around. They are essential to our survival in ways which grow and evolve long after infancy.

As Erich Fromm has said, "The possibility of being left alone is necessarily the most serious threat to the child's whole existence." He goes on to describe this feeling as it develops throughout one's life, and identifies a significant dynamic force:

The individual by being aware—even very dimly—of death, sickness, aging, necessarily feels his insignificance and smallness in comparison with the universe and all others who are not "he." Unless he belonged somewhere, unless his life had some meaning and direction, he would feel like a particle of dust and be overcome by his individual insignificance.³

The teacher, who operates in a social environment at all times, is directly in in touch with this basic need. The social order the child enters in kindergarten or elementary school may be very simple and involve relatively few people. As the child grows, his social world grows. Soon it can encompass several thousand others as he moves into high school. But always he is a social being. He needs the approval and reaction of others in order to know himself. The baby, of course, learns the difference between his mother's smile and her frown. In fact, our children have become such apt pupils of others that we may sometimes become concerned that all they are really aware of are those others out there. They may lack any inner certainty about their own real needs or drives.

² The preceding summary of Erickson's description of the healthy personality has been adapted from Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth, *A Healthy Personality for Every Child* (Raleigh, N.C.: Health Publications, Inc., 1951).

Another version may be found in Erik H. Erickson, *Childhood and Society* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1950), pp. 219–233.

³ Erich Fromm, *Escape from Freedom* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1941), p. 21.

The Need for Recognition

A child is a creature with a strong social need, but these needs will not be satisfied if the society of which he is a part does not know he is there. Each person needs to be seen, to be known for himself, to be *recognized*. Teachers early find out that one of their most important beginning tasks is knowing the name of each child. A child's name is most truly himself. It sets him off from all the others.

Children whom teachers characterize as those needing "attention" are those who are saying, in one sense, "Please know that I am here, too!" Yes, we all need to have attention paid to us. The teacher's problem becomes one of how to divide himself into thirty-five pieces each hour so that each pupil gets at least a small dose of "attention" or recognition.

The Need to Be Loved

No matter what stage of growth or development a child may be in, he seeks and needs love and affection. The source of his love changes as he grows, as Erickson has described, yet it is a universal and continual need that remains throughout life. The unloved child is one of those whom the teacher can identify early; sometimes he crawls into her lap in kindergarten, seeking here the mother he does not have at home. Or he may be the child who withdraws into isolated play or daydreaming, convinced that no one could ever love him, or the adolescent with the chip on his shoulder ready to fight anyone, suspicious of any overture because none have ever lasted. The love that is needed is the kind that says, "I don't care what you have done or who you are, I just like you as you are right now." Unequivocal love is what it is

termed. To the busy classroom teacher this is an ideal rarely achieved. The children most in need of love are those who pose the greatest learning problems. Often they are difficult, demanding, unpleasant. So what does the teacher do? React as others have with patience wearing thin, irritation, denial, eventual outright rejection. The children who most need the teacher's affection are often those who seem to do everything to make it impossible.

Children who are accepted for what they are become in turn persons who accept themselves. By indicating that all children are valued, the teacher thus encourages them to feel good about their own potential, and their own competence. Yet some of our school procedures seem to make this difficult if not impossible. As pointed out by Snygg and Combs:

People will behave only in ways that are appropriate to their own picture of themselves. People who have learned to think of themselves as competent, successful and acceptable will undertake more tasks and persist longer against difficulties than those who have learned that they are incompetent and unsuccessful. . . . It is a profligate waste of our national resources to teach millions of people to think of themselves as mediocre, incompetent, or failures at activities which are socially desirable and even essential. Every person who accepts such a concept of himself cuts down the standard of living, the safety and security of his fellow citizens.

Do you agree with this statement so far? Does it seem sensible and reasonable? Now see what these authors identify as one of the primary sources for producing such feelings on the parts of so many persons, then see if you still agree.

Such a person becomes less of an asset

and more of a liability. Yet this is precisely what many of our schools are now doing by requiring all children to compete in a narrow range of verbal activities, and giving recognition only to the winners.

This brings us to a consideration of our present marking system. To the extent that some of the activities which are now required in school are really necessary for developing skills for adult life, it is essential that all of the children, not just the few at the top of the class, have opportunities to feel successful and competent in them. But under the competitive marking system used in most schools only the top students in each class have an opportunity to acquire such concepts of themselves. . . . We cannot afford to write off one-half or more of our population by persuading them that they are failures. There is good reason to believe that our competitive marking system is doing just this and that it should be abandoned.⁴

The Need for Security

The need for security relates closely to the development of a sense of trust as identified by Erickson, which takes place in infancy. Yet, even if this sense has been acquired early, the need for security continues throughout life. Fear of what may happen next, being uncertain about new situations, retreating in the face of anything which appears different or unusual, all are signs that the individual is highly insecure. Only the person who feels "safe" can afford to venture forth to taste new experiences. Education is essentially the building up of many new experiences on top of each other. Thus children, to be able to continue to move forward into new educational experiences, must feel that it is "safe" to do so.

The ingredient that a good teacher will add is security. Security means that

there are rules, that these rules help children behave in an orderly and reasonable fashion. And because there are rules, there is freedom. Society, whether out in the world or in the classroom, cannot survive without rules. But neither can it be productive of new learning if there is no freedom—and in the classroom this means freedom to ask, to challenge, to explore, to try out, to make mistakes, to be different, to create. The kind of security that promotes freedom to learn is one in which failure is not so devastating that the child retreats from all learning.

The preceding discussion has been concerned with common elements in the development of boys and girls that prospective teachers need to understand. These elements help us see order and meaning in the behavior of youth; they help us see the roles of parents and teachers better.

Differences are the wellspring of creativity. Because America welcomes all kinds of talents and abilities, we have been able to make maximum use of diversity. Other cultures have people who differ, but such differences are suppressed or outlawed. Soon they disappear. Primitive cultures, for instance, tend to produce fewer "types" than does a complex culture like our own, which needs so many differences. In an industrial world we cannot get along only with artisans; we need engineers, designers, push-button operators, mathematicians, floor sweepers, clerks, administrators, therapists—the list of different kinds of jobs runs to over 22,000 different occupations as given in the *Dictionary of Occupational Titles*.⁵

⁴ Donald Syngg and Arthur W. Combs, *Individual Behavior* (New York: Harper & Row, 1949), p. 223.

⁵ *Dictionary of Occupational Titles* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Employment Service).

Thus diversity is to be prized, and differences are to be encouraged.

It is first necessary to identify those factors which contribute individuality and uniqueness to boys and girls. These factors can, in a way, be called "common differences," contradictory as that term may appear. They are best identified as elements which *make a difference* in the development of children and youth.

AGE MAKES A DIFFERENCE

Age is probably the most obvious of all the factors which make for differences among boys and girls. Differences due to age are easy to see. Students obviously get bigger as they get older. Their interests change as they mature. However, even though each child follows a definite pattern of growth, all children are not at the same place in this pattern at any given chronological age.

Children differ in the rates at which they mature and in the rates at which they grow. Some youngsters shoot up very fast during adolescence; others grow more slowly. Some go through a period of being plump and chunky during pre-adolescent years; others are always thin and lanky. Some first-graders have begun to be fairly independent in many areas; others are still quite dependent upon adults. Some teen-agers are beginning to explore and become members of the adult world; others are still clinging almost entirely to the world of the child.

Not only are there differences within a given chronological age group; there are distinct differences between boys and girls in their rates of growth. Girls develop verbal skills at an earlier age than boys; in adolescent years they grow and mature faster, both in size and interests.

The important thing for the teacher and the school to consider is not only that each child will follow a definite pattern of growth but also that each child will follow this pattern at his own, individual rate.

SEX MAKES A DIFFERENCE

As we all know, there is a difference between boys and girls. What is of fundamental interest to teachers—and prospective teachers—is that these differences, although we believe them to be culturally determined, are tremendously important to what happens in school.

For example, although boys and girls enter school at the same age, the girls on an average have greater language facility than boys. They can learn to read earlier and faster. They talk more fluently and clearly. Research has pointed out that even in earliest infancy, girl babies have started to babble and to make first attempts at speech before boys do; and they keep this advantage through life!

Shortly after starting school very significant differences occur. Boys, not achieving as well as girls, show a greater tendency to be retained rather than promoted. In fact, the ratio of failure all through school favors the girls; boys, in many instances, fail almost twice as often. Girls stay in school longer. More boys than girls have trouble with reading and must be referred to remedial reading classes; more boys than girls are also referred to clinics because of emotional maladjustment. And many more boys than girls are delinquents.⁶

⁶ Eleanor Bernert, *America's Children* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1958), pp. 67-69.

The differences between boys and girls pose problems and implications for school programs. Boys, it seems, are not getting as good a break in school. As Friedenberg in his book on the adolescent points out, clinical studies of students in high school showed that, for most girls, school was simply a good place to be; for boys it was a source of considerable trouble.⁷

Many theories have been advanced as to why boys fare so much more poorly in school than girls. One is that, since most teachers are women, they tend to reward behavior that accords with feminine values—children succeed who are obedient, cooperative, submissive. None of these are traits which the culture substantially rewards boys for displaying. Boys' fathers want them to be fighters; teachers want them to be "little gentlemen." Therefore boys who stand up for their "rights" on the playground and get into fist fights also get into trouble with teachers. Meeting these culturally induced differences is a major task for the schools; if we do not we shall continue to lose many boys.

Another difference between boys and girls of great significance for the schools is the choice each sex makes when deciding upon a vocation. Much concern has recently been expressed about the waste of talent among the bright and gifted. Women comprise one of the largest groups whose talents are not used. Bright women, we are informed, seldom enter the scientific and mathematical fields. In fact, the figures show that there is a smaller percentage of women today getting advanced degrees than was true twenty years ago. Why is this so? Women, interestingly enough, really

want to get married, raise children, and stay home. They do not want careers. They want jobs for awhile before or shortly after marriage and perhaps after the children are grown, but they do not seek the tough work and competition that goes with achieving a career.

The school, however, educates girls—as it educates boys—as though both were equally interested in lifetime jobs and careers. And the major career that most women do follow—that of homemaker—is not given any educational help or aid.⁸ The average age at which the modern girl marries is younger than it has been for decades, and she has practically no preparation for the demanding and crucial tasks ahead. Certainly it is as hard, and as important, to rear good children as to hold down a high-paying job. Perhaps this is why so many homes are broken by divorce and so many children are badly raised.

From this we might be tempted to conclude that the elementary school treats boys as though they ought to be like girls, and the secondary school treats girls as though they ought to be like boys!

The differences in the rate of growth between boys and girls create problems, too, particularly in the junior high school, where the girls often tower over the boys. And if there is social dancing and dating—as there usually is—there are bound to be conflict and confusion, with resultant distortion for both boys and girls of their own self-concepts. Since girls thus excel in competing in the classroom as well as in achieving a kind of new maturity, the problem for both sexes to learn to live together in a family as

⁷ Edgar Z. Friedenberg, *The Vanishing Adolescent* (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1959), p. 93.

⁸ Bruno Bettelheim, "The Problem of Generations," *Daedalus*, 91:68-96 (Winter 1962).

man and wife is made difficult. Again, school programs might be devised to reduce this intersex competition, and might even develop new patterns where individuals of more equal social and physical development study and work together. An ungraded junior high school has been suggested as one solution.

RACIAL, ETHNIC, AND RELIGIOUS BACKGROUNDS MAKE A DIFFERENCE

To America have come persons from every corner of the globe. The great melting pot, as we have often considered ourselves, is indeed made up of a heterogeneous collection of the world's many cultures and types. But the melting pot has not really succeeded in melting everyone down to one common denominator. Many such differences not only remain but are crucial in the life history of almost all of us.

"Racial" distinctions are among the most difficult to deal with and to overcome because they are more easily seen. It is usually impossible to tell what a person's religion is just by looking at him, but one can often tell what a person's "race" is. And racial differences in America are associated with differences in status and in access to many opportunities. The continuing struggle to desegregate schools is an unfortunate example of the problem that racial distinctions, and accompanying concepts of inferiority and superiority, can pose for school people as well as the whole community and nation.

To the degree that a people's religion is an important aspect of their ethical and personal lives, religious differences are important in national life. The National

Council of the Churches of Christ compiled figures in 1963 which showed a total church membership in this country of more than 116 million. This membership came from 258 denominations. A little less than one third of all church members were Roman Catholics, and nearly half were Protestants. In addition to these were the 2.7 million members of the Eastern Orthodox Churches, the 5.5 million members of Jewish Congregations, and an undetermined number of members of non-Christian congregations for which no statistics are available.⁹ The differences between the total and our total population can probably be accounted for by nonbelievers, many of whom are as passionate in their nonbelief as those who belong to a fundamental orthodoxy. And also, of course, within the largest group, the Protestant one, there are many wide and deep differences that divide say, a Mormon from a Presbyterian, or a Holy Pentacostal from a Unitarian.

There are many moments in public school life when religious questions are raised. What about Christmas programs? Shall a team pray for victory? Can a biology teacher teach evolution to a fundamentalist? How are the beliefs of Christian Scientists to be respected when a doctor talks to a class about the germ basis of some illnesses?

Children of foreign-born parents make up an important group in many of the major cities of America. Although all Americans except the American Indians are assumed to be originally immigrants, there are distinct differences depending, first, on how long ago this migration occurred, and, second, from the part of

⁹ *The World Almanac* (New York: New York World-Telegram and The Sun, 1963), p. 705.

the globe the migration occurred. An Englishman, whether of early or recent residence, finds it relatively easy to be absorbed into the American stream: his language is the same, he soon loses most of his accent, and his name is indistinguishable from those of millions of others. But if his country of origin is China, or Greece, or Puerto Rico, then the differences become quite crucial. These countries have a distinctive and different culture. These cultures differ markedly from the American and Anglo-Saxon in many ways—food habits, religion, family patterns, language. Sometimes there are differences in physical appearance. At one time, when America was new, it was very important that such differences be resolved in order to build a distinctive and strong America. Yet, as we examine our history, we find that much of our strength derives from this very cultural diversity. In fact, there is no place in American life that has not been touched and enriched by cultures of many countries.

Although currently considerable attention is being given to the idea of developing a true "culture pluralism" which accords to all groups respect for their differences, the American social scene still demonstrates the melting-pot approach to differences: everyone is to try to be as much like everyone else as he can—at least in outward appearance and public behavior. Thus the individual whose ethnic origin is apparent, because of his appearance or his name, is often unhappy. Such persons face discrimination in many areas of American life. A symptom of this is the many individuals who change the name that marks them as coming from a particular ethnic group to a name that is blandly "American."

And children—how does it affect them?

In school, the impact of differences depends primarily upon the teacher, does it not? And teachers, like people, have been raised in the American culture. We have research evidence that indicates that teachers, too, have feelings about the differences their students bring to school.¹⁰

It is impossible in this introduction to education to give a complete picture of the way that intergroup differences affect children and the teaching that can be done. What is important is to point out that here, as in any other area, these differences count. Teachers need to understand these differences, to understand their own feelings about them, and to seek ways of helping young people learn to live with and value such differences.

SOCIOECONOMIC CLASS MAKES A DIFFERENCE

Americans have always believed that any newsboy could become President. But in the regular, everyday life we lead, ambition and talent are rewarded in school in almost direct correlation with the socioeconomic level of the child.

• Social class is determined both by income and by occupation. Income alone is insufficient to determine a person's social class. Extensive research has been done on social class differences: what they are, and how they affect the behaviors, growth, and attitudes of children growing up in different socioeconomic levels.

The culture of a slum child is vastly different from the culture of a suburban child. The slum child is much less likely

¹⁰ Jean D. Grambs, "Are We Training Prejudiced Teachers?" *School and Society*, 71:196-198 (April 1, 1950).

to have had contact with books, music, and art. The suburban child is much less likely to have been involved in street fights, to be a member of a "gang," to hear and use profanity, to see and experience human degradation. On the other hand, suburban communities have their own types of youth delinquency problems. Reckless operation of high-powered automobiles, malicious destruction of property, and even dope addiction have baffled parents in some of the nation's most respectable suburban areas.

Parents from middle- and upper-income brackets tend to expect more from the education of their child and, in many cases, use their money and influence to demand more. Sexton, in a recent study of a large American city, found that the talents of the lower-class children are not utilized nearly as much as those of the elite or upper-class group. The more money the child's family has, the more likely is he to go to a newer public school with better facilities and better staff, whereas the slum child attends old schools with less equipment and staffed with faculty less adequate in many respects. She states:

... society, being dominated by elites, has given these children a head start; and, following the lead as always, the schools have compounded the advantage by providing them with superior educational services of every conceivable variety.¹¹

The substance of our concern with socioeconomic differences is that we still have much to do in learning how to make the vast social institution we call the educational system responsive to the needs of all children. With newer techniques of

research and new approaches to deliberate social change being devised constantly in the behavioral sciences, we can hope that the future will hold more positive answers than has the past.

FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS MAKE A DIFFERENCE

The family educates children much more effectively and lastingly than the school, mainly because the family gets the first chance. What happens to a human infant before he is three is probably more crucial in determining his whole future life pattern than anything that happens after this time. And the school as an effective agent doesn't enter the scene until damage may have been done. In some societies, the state attempts to get to the children through state-controlled nursery schools available for very young infants and children. In this way it can mold the personalities of its future citizens in the direction it wants. Obviously, this course represents dangers to the traditional democratic values of our society if the objectives of such control are political rather than social.

In our country, which does not exercise this state control, we still have considerable evidence that children, who appeared to be retarded mentally in the barren environment of some orphanages, when placed in a stimulating environment improved a good deal. The work of the Harvard Laboratory of Human Development summarizes very well the effect of child-rearing practices on the personality and behavior of children.¹²

¹¹ Patricia C. Sexton, *Education and Income* (New York: The Viking Press, Inc., 1961), p. xvii.

¹² Robert R. Sears, Eleanor E. Maccoby, and Harry Levin, *Patterns of Child Rearing* (New York: Harper & Row, 1957).

Another factor in the growth of children is the kind of family in which they grow up. If the family is one that has been broken by an acrimonious divorce, the children are bound to show some effects of this experience in their school behavior. A child will naturally show a reaction to other kinds of personal tragedy:

In my student teaching class I had been pleased with the response that John made to my presentations. He seemed to be such an alert and lively kid. He spoke often about his ambitions for the future, and also talked warmly about the things he and his father built together in their basement. Then he was absent for a week, which was in itself quite unusual. When he returned, he was a different boy. He was sullen, withdrawn, with a continually angry look on his face. His responses were either nonexistent or short to the point of rudeness. I could not understand what had happened. He would not let me talk to him, but hurried out of the room the instant the bell rang. I finally asked the principal if he could explain this. He told me that the boy's father had accidentally shot himself when cleaning his rifle for a projected hunting trip with John.¹³

Some children come from families where there is a constant stream of indulgent and fond relatives. Grandmother is the baby-sitter for adored grandchildren. At Christmas time there is always a gigantic pile of gifts from aunts, uncles, and cousins. Next door there may be a family with only one child who may have few relatives other than his parents. The parents are preoccupied with their careers; even though they furnish all the material benefits, they give their child little warmth or attention. In the house on the other side the mother has been ill for several years. She is a whiny, fretful person, always feeling sorry for herself

and making all within earshot sorry for themselves. The children and the father do practically all the housework.

So it goes. You can walk down any block and find an infinite variety of human families, providing every kind of living environment for children. Of great significance to any teacher is the ability to be able to recognize those children who bring their family's problems with them, who are so disturbed by events at home that they cannot function normally at school. Children cannot leave their families behind just because the school door has shut. A child who hears bitter, angry words every morning served up with breakfast is bound to behave differently from a child whose parents are cheerful, happy, and interested in all he does at the morning meal.

How can the school meet these differences in family patterns as they affect children? Modern counseling services are one device the school uses to give help to such children and, through community agencies, to their families as well. Visiting teachers with social work training often enter the family scene when the welfare of children is at stake. In school, sensitive teachers use literature, for example, to discuss family situations and help children articulate their fears and problems and seek a way of dealing with them through greater emotional understanding. Courses in family life and problems of the modern American family are given at the senior high school level. Even math teachers can enter the scene by helping youngsters assess accurately how much money they have, how they can make a budget, how they can determine what are and what are not good credit purchases.

¹³ From a student teacher's diary.

ABILITIES, INTERESTS, AND TALENTS MAKE A DIFFERENCE

All your school life you have been aware of the fact that some children are brighter than others, some children always have trouble with schoolwork, some children just aren't interested in bugs and others have a real flair for drawing. These obvious differences are as important as anything else with which we must be concerned in education. And these are among the most baffling differences to deal with. It is only during the last fifty years that we have begun to make a scientific study of differences in intellectual ability.

The term "intelligence quotient" (IQ) is a familiar one; yet even today there is considerable controversy over just what it means. Some people, lacking a better definition, say that intelligence is what the intelligence test tests! Test makers have long struggled to make tests as nearly free of the influences of cultural conditioning as possible, but a true culture-free verbal test has not yet been devised. As was pointed out in the section on socioeconomic differences, the culture of a slum child is vastly different from the culture of a suburban child. A test which asks youngsters to distinguish between a harp and a French horn obviously is going to be biased toward the child whose environment would have made it more possible for him to learn about such things.¹⁴ It was found in studying intelligence tests that motivation to do well on the test varies with socioeconomic status; lower-class children just

don't care as much as middle-class children about their test achievement because their families don't care much either. So how can we tell how "intelligent" a child really is? Actually, we can only make some good guesses.

With the still rather crude instruments that we must use in measuring intelligence, we know that there is a very great range in ability to do schoolwork. At one end of the range are the very brilliant, the geniuses. At the other end of the range are the very retarded. Most children lie between these extremes. Most classrooms do not enroll children whose intelligence is very low, below about 70 IQ. Such children are simply not able to do regular classwork; they need special kinds of instruction and help. Most school districts provide special classes for the mentally retarded, who in turn are separated still further into two groups—one which can learn to read and write at a very primary level and one which can be trained but not educated. Yet the school can do much for these children.

The extremely bright children, with IQ's above 130, are to be found in almost every school. The table indicates what proportion of various intelligence levels above 115 you might expect to find in the schools. School systems all over the country are showing increased concern over the educational program being provided for such gifted young people. Studies have shown that in many instances over half of those who could go on to advanced study are either not identified by the school and helped to use their talent, or lack support or encouragement from the home.

The differences in intelligence can be a satisfaction to a teacher, or they can be a disturbance. Some teachers find it very

¹⁴ Kenneth Eells, "Some Implications for School Practices of the Chicago Studies of Cultural Bias in Intelligence Tests," *Harvard Educational Review*, 23:284-297 (Fall 1953).

difficult to adjust their teaching to a wide range in abilities. For this reason schools have developed various kinds of grouping devices, or track plans; but so far none have proven to be completely "the answer" to the problem of meeting this kind of individual difference. The students who find themselves in slower sections under any kind of plan of homogeneous grouping tend to achieve less well than they might in mixed groups. Yet it is also true that many bright children have drifted through school because

survives in the educational rat-race that we call postgraduate education."¹⁵

Definitions of creativity are as elusive as the quality itself, it would seem. In recent years much attention has been devoted to this aspect of personality functioning. It is felt that our complex society will solve its manifold problems to the degree that we develop many creative individuals who can come up with novel and imaginative solutions to problems that we do not yet even know exist. Many children are docile and conforming, and

**Approximate Proportions of School Populations
at Various Intellectual Levels**

STANFORD-BINET INTELLECTUAL LEVELS	PERCENT OF SCHOOL POPULATION		EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS
	AVERAGE COMMUNITY	SUPERIOR SOCIO- ECONOMIC COMMUNITY	
IQ above 140	0.5 to 1%	2 to 3%	Graduate college
IQ above 130	2 to 4	6 to 12	(Medicine, Law, Ph.D.)
IQ above 125	5 to 7	15 to 20	Programs in physical
IQ above 120	10 to 12	30 to 40	and social sciences)
IQ above 115	16 to 20	45 to 60	Undergraduate college

SOURCE: James J. Gallagher, *What Research Says to the Teacher: The Gifted Child in the Elementary School*, (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1959), p. 5.

few things were done to challenge their capabilities. Another major difference observable in children and youth is their ability to be creative, imaginative, original. According to Kubie, this ability is present in all people at birth, but the various forces that impinge upon the growing child gradually inhibit and, in most cases, extinguish this ability. Schools, says Kubie, are very much responsible for the loss of creativity, though parents and other adults are also to blame. He feels that the greatest inhibitor of creativity may actually be advanced graduate work! "The fact is that every engineering educator can tell you that creativity rarely survives erudition—that creativity rarely

give back to the teacher the words and concepts he provided. Other children respond with ideas and solutions which may be very far from what the teacher may have had in mind. When asked to draw, some children produce adequate but unimaginative pictures; others draw very "different," even ugly, pictures. Whatever creativity is, it is certainly a quality of personality functioning that varies greatly among children. It is a quality to be prized and fostered, but it is also one which may give many teachers moments

¹⁵ Lawrence S. Kubie, "Research on Protecting Preconscious Functions in Education," Shepard and Enoch Pratt Hospital, Towson, Maryland, n.d.

of perplexity and distress. Is Johnny writing a weird story just to annoy, or because he is expressing his own creativity? In a recent symposium on creativity, a number of eminent scholars tried to approach this slippery problem. The sum of their endeavors is well presented by the last paragraph in the volume:

Most of our authors have mentioned a social as well as individual need for creativity. These authors were not perfunctory in their citation of this problem. Rather they have presented the need for creativity as a national crisis, a desperate situation for the military forces, for industrial leadership, for humanitarian living. In viewing creativity in perspective it seems rather futile to expect to meet our declared national need for creativity by identifying those adults in whom the spark of individuality has been kept alive. There are not enough such adults. . . . Why not take any generation of small children, already creative, and find out how to cultivate them?¹⁶

Differences in interest underlie much of the variation in motivation that we notice in a classroom of children. Some will respond with eager curiosity when the teacher brings in sprouting seeds for a science lesson. Other children couldn't be less interested. Some listen in rapt silence to a love sonnet of Elizabeth Barrett Browning; others snigger or write silly notes to their neighbors.

Capturing this variety of interests so that all become enthralled in the learning process requires a teacher who is imaginative and creative himself. He must be one who has many interests and a wide tolerance for those of others. It is the teacher who makes maximum use of the already developed interests of young

people who finds students most responsive and also the least trouble to control.

HANDICAPS MAKE A DIFFERENCE

American youth are remarkably healthy. Each generation is a little taller than the preceding one. One university had to put in a special order for extra-long beds for the men's dormitories: so many entering freshmen were seven feet tall or more. But in spite of our prodigious advances in preventive medicine, we still have millions of children who have some kind of physical or emotional handicap. There are the blind, the hard of hearing, the deaf, the mute, the brain-damaged, the spastic, the partially paralyzed, the epileptic. And there are many children who have been so damaged by life that they cannot adjust to normal living with others.

Not all of these children come to school. In many places special provision is made for the deaf, the crippled, and the spastic. There are special schools for the blind, though recent experience suggests that blind youngsters can adjust well to inclusion in a normal classroom if given special help and preparation.

The child with a handicap in an ordinary classroom often poses special problems for the teacher:

As the children in Miss Foster's room talked about their coming trip to another third-grade room in a town twenty miles away, their conversation was typical of eight-year-olds. They began to speculate as to what kind of boys and girls they would meet—whether any of the girls would have a "ponytail" hair-do as Sadie did; whether the boys would all have "crew" haircuts as many of the group did; and, as Rebecca

¹⁶ Harold H. Anderson, *Creativity and Its Cultivation* (New York: Harper & Row, 1959), p. 267.

said, "I wonder if anyone is real tall like me." Before anyone could answer, Peggy spoke up, "I expect they will look at me and my funny face, but I won't mind it very much. I'm going to wear my prettiest dress."

The tense silence which followed this comment was broken when Catherine, the most popular child as well as the most sensitive one, said, "Oh, I've got a funny face, too, Peggy, don't mind yours." Then she laughed, and all the children responded likewise.

During this split second, thoughts raced madly through Miss Foster's mind. Should she take advantage of this first sign from Peggy that she accepted facial features impaired by numerous operations for a cleft palate, or should she let well enough alone?

Knowing how much Peggy's immediate family and relatives, as well as former teachers, had worked and hoped for this very attitude to be expressed, Miss Foster took a *long* chance and asked, why "Why did you say that, Peggy?"

To which Peggy replied, "Oh, my nose is flat and my face has some scars and when kids don't know me they usually laugh at me."

Sadie, who had joined the group only a year before, said, "Well, Peggy is my best friend. When I first met her, I didn't laugh at her face, but I *did* wonder why it was that way. When Mama told me why, then I understood. And now I never even think about it being different anymore."

And then Oscar said, "We all know Peggy. We don't think anything about it. Anyway, the scar hardly shows."

To which sophisticated Walter added, "Well, you like people for what they are, not how they look."

Miss Foster, thankful for the wisdom of children, felt that her comments were almost superfluous when she said, "Peggy, I'm so glad you don't worry about that problem so much. I guess we all worry about some things for a while. Rebecca is concerned because she is so nice and tall. I always wanted to be tall and see how short I am. I guess we just learn as we grow up that we can't do anything about some things, so we accept them and make the best of them. As

Walter said, people like us for what we are and not just how we look."

The time had come to move to other activities. Nothing more was said during the year about Peggy's face, but her mother reported that from that time on, Peggy would stand in front of the mirror and try out different hair styles. Until then she had avoided looking at herself, and when she had done so, had made such comments as, "Horrid old face," or "Nasty old face."¹⁷

This anecdote shows how a sensitive teacher can help children who differ. Such differences need not be such hazards for the child if teachers understand their meaning and give support and needed clarification as the occasion arises.

The child who is emotionally disturbed, whatever the cause, is also a child who is different. All children go through periods of trouble and tension. This is a normal part of growing up; if it does not occur, we have a child in trouble indeed. But too many problems, tensions, or accidents can mar a child very badly. Here is a description of the kind of emotionally disturbed child that a teacher might encounter in a classroom.

Dodie was fourteen, the oldest child of a large family. Her parents were poor; her father drank and, periodically, had been institutionalized with the diagnosis of schizophrenia. Dodie's mother was a kind and understanding woman but was exhausted from overwork in providing for the family.

Dodie was an unobtrusive and quiet girl. In school she had passed from grade to grade as an average-to-good student, until now she was in the ninth grade of a junior high school. Nobody had paid much attention to her except one physical education teacher

¹⁷ Helen L. Gillham, *Helping Children Accept Themselves and Others* (Practical Suggestions for Teaching, No. 20; New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1959), p. 7-8. Reprinted by permission of the Bureau of Publications.

who had asked her, in front of all the children, why she had inferiority feelings about games and athletics. This was an unfortunate remark in the circumstances.

Dodie never talked in class unless asked to. She went around with one or two girls whom she called her friends. She never talked with boys and never participated in group activities or was elected to any office.

The first time any teacher concerned herself with Dodie was when her grades in school began to drop considerably. The teacher discovered that in the ninth grade Dodie sat daydreaming and rarely spoke to anyone or participated in class.

Calling the mother to discuss Dodie's work, the teacher learned to her surprise that the mother a few weeks earlier had taken the child to a doctor and to a psychologist, but had not wanted the school to know because she felt the school might think there was "something wrong" with Dodie. (This unfortunate idea that the school might become prejudiced against the child seen by a psychologist is not infrequently encountered in parents.)

The teacher was now interested and worked with mother and psychologist to understand this child. She learned that Dodie, after coming home from school, never talked to anybody outside the house if she could help it. She participated in no games with the many neighborhood children as did her brothers and sisters.

Dodie was close to her mother, at least she talked more to her than to anyone else. She was afraid of her father and his unpredictable moods. She was afraid of most other people and never wanted to meet anyone new.

Most of her time was spent among books and magazines; she liked to draw dress models and model dolls. She put much imagination into these drawings, and her absorption let the mother feel that Dodie, who herself was plain, identified with these beautiful models in her long periods of daydreaming. When asked whether she wanted to be a dress designer, she declared that she just wanted to marry and have children. As she refused to meet anyone, particularly to date with boys or to talk

with them, her marriage wish appears an unreal dream similar to her dreams about beauty and models.¹⁸

We must always be alert to the emotional troubles that surround our young people. It is indeed distressing to know that at least one out of every ten Americans will need institutional care or psychiatric treatment for mental illness at some time during his life. And all of these people were once in school. The school, therefore, has a great obligation to stem this tremendous social drain and personal waste. Only as teachers become more aware of emotional problems, and less threatened by them, as well as more skilled in dealing with them, can we hope to reduce this toll. Such differences are depressing and alarming; yet it is just such children who need and respond to the right kind of teacher. Here is where help is needed of a very special sort.

SUMMARY

In this chapter we have discussed some of the major ways in which children are alike as well as different. These differences and likenesses are of great significance for the teacher. Our public schools are open to all the children of all the people, and although no two of them are alike, all have basic common needs. We prize individuality, and we need the creativity of diverse talents, needs, interests. The schools today are facing, as never before, the challenge of all these differences. New programs, new techniques, new understandings, new materials and

¹⁸ Charlotte Buhler *et al.* *Childhood Problems and the Teacher* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1952), pp. 142-144.

aids are all at the service of the teacher. No longer must teachers fret over the problems these differences pose.

Provisions for the special educational needs of the handicapped child, including the emotionally disturbed, have received increased attention during the last twenty-five years. As schools gain additional personnel in guidance, in the areas of school social workers, school psychologists and psychiatrists, the classroom teacher's task will be made, not only more interesting, but more wonderful and satisfying.

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6

Society Educates Children and Youth

So far we have talked about learning primarily as something that results from a particular kind of relationship between teachers and learners. Learning that is not the direct result of a teacher's action is far more common than that which is the result of a teacher's effort. In fact, most of the total learning any of us has achieved has been this kind of informal learning—which is quantitative rather than qualitative. Complete understanding of this fact is difficult for us to achieve because, if we carry this idea to its ultimate conclusion, we can say that we are learning every single second of our waking hours.

Perhaps it is easier to understand the pervasiveness of learning if we consider carefully the amount of learning that has been achieved by a child prior to his entrance into kindergarten. At this point

in his life, the child has not been directly taught by a teacher. He may have had a comparatively brief experience with people designated as teachers, such as a Sunday school teacher or possibly a nursery school teacher. In general, however, everything he has learned he has acquired without the direct aid of a teacher. True, his mother and father have deliberately taught him many things. When he was a baby, for example, his mother taught him how to hold his spoon, how to drink from a glass, as well as many other necessary habits and skills. He has undoubtedly also been taught how to turn on the water faucet to get a drink or how to open and close the gate in the fence around the yard. And although no one taught him, he knows how to turn on the TV set.

The kindergarten child knows much more than the learnings directly taught him by parents or other adults. He knows an incredible number of things and has developed an equally incredible number of skills in his five short years of living. How did he learn these things? How did he learn to talk? How did he learn the names of all the different objects that are already real to him in everyday living? How did he learn to like or dislike different kinds of foods? How did he learn to find his way home from his playmate's house on the other side of the block? How did he learn to distinguish his home from other homes in the block? How did he learn to manipulate the adults in his life so that he often gets what he wants? How did he learn to walk, brush his teeth, put on his clothes, ride his tricycle, ride his scooter, swing in the swing, or make mud pies in the sand box? Who were his teachers? Was he taught these things, and how?

The things any child has learned and the way in which he learned them and the reasons why he has learned them continue to function throughout his lifetime.

The process never stops. Perhaps you are in your room at home or in your college dormitory or perhaps you are in the library as you read this book. You have been learning all day since you woke up this morning. Think of the opportunities to learn that you have had throughout the day. Think about them in detail. What have you learned? It is probably difficult to make any precise identification; yet we know that if we look back over a period of time we realize that we have changed from what we were one year ago. We know many new things. We can do new things, or we can do some old things better. We have changed. And change is learning.

Men have been aware of this continuous "natural" kind of learning for a long time. Obviously, our total environment "does things" to us. It is constantly "conditioning" us. Everything in our environment has significance for us in terms of learning—people, weather, almost anything we can suggest. Plant and animal scientists refer to this environmental conditioning as the science of ecology. They frequently study a plant or an animal in order to determine the ecological conditions that best produce the kind of plant or animal desired.

In another sense, we can say that the greatest of all our teachers is our environment. We often hear it said that "experience is the best teacher." This is the popular expression of this thought. The way things are done, the values we have, the expectations we must meet—all are aspects of our cultural environment. Each of us is, indeed, a product of his culture and his environment. After all, even the school is part of the environment of any individual.

An awareness of the pervasiveness of learning throughout life is important for

the teacher. It is in many ways a humbling thought. Perhaps we as teachers are not as important as we sometimes think we are. As they grow children are molded and shaped by forces that are stronger and more influential than the school program. Reflection on these matters helps us to see that basically what the teacher does is to serve as an agent of the culture—he is a part of this environmental mass that is impinging on the child. Furthermore, the teacher's role is unique inasmuch as he is recognized as someone specifically designated to change other individuals. He is charged with the responsibility of securing certain desired behavioral adaptations in children.

BEHAVIOR AS A PRODUCT OF LEARNING

When we speak about the behavior of an individual, we are not referring to whether or not he is "good" or "bad." Mothers may often say to their children, "Now you *behave*!" This implies that the child has not been behaving properly, but that he had better change his conduct right away. Actually, all of us are behaving every minute that we are awake. Behavior is the total picture of our actions which we present at any given time.

If we are awake and living, we are behaving. How we behave is something that we have learned. The newborn infant behaves on a fairly instinctual level for a few days or weeks. But from the very beginning he starts to learn different patterns of behavior. He learns that certain kinds of cries are more apt to produce desired results than are other kinds of cries. He learns to react to certain individuals in his immediate environment. These learnings come to him very rap-

idly as a baby. His behavior changes markedly. The behavior of a one-year-old baby is dramatically different from that of a newborn baby. The behavior of a three-year-old child is equally dramatically different from that of the one-year-old baby. The differences in behavior are the result of learning; only to a very small extent are they the result of natural, unlearned adaptations.

No one teaches this kind of learning. It results from the daily, hourly, and minute-by-minute pressures that exist in the environment of the child. Behavior changes because, unless it does, certain rewards do not come to the child; indeed, certain punishments may come to him. The learning comes in the form of changed behavior when the child realizes that to achieve goals and objectives that are meaningful in his young life his behavior must change accordingly. Billy cannot achieve the objective of getting into the cookie jar until he learns to climb the kitchen stool and reach the jar. Twelve-month-old Mary learns that if she wants to enjoy the freedom of crawling all over the living room floor instead of being confined to her playpen she has to keep her hands off the ashtrays and books. This view of learning and of changing behavior is sometimes referred to as goal-directed learning or goal-directed behavior. Learning is seen to be achieved when a problem is solved, a goal reached, or a desired achievement secured.

It should be obvious that these illustrations are vastly oversimplified. Learning and behavior changing are not just matters of conditioning for set responses. In human learning what happens between a given condition, a given stimulus, and the response represents a complicated psychological and intellectual process about which we know very little but about

which there are many theories. Man's understanding of his unique mental processes is expanding rapidly, however. As the behavioral sciences learn more and more about the origins of behavior and the learning process, education as an applied science will also become more effective.

CHANGING BEHAVIOR

If it is desired to change the behavior of any given individual or any group of individuals, then it is obviously necessary to provide experiences which will result in the learning of the new and desired behavior. We might say that much of the substance of teaching lies in planning for behavior changes. Teaching involves contriving experiences which will literally force the learner to change his behavior.

Many times behavior that is learned may be called "potential" behavior. If a child has certain kinds of experiences that may predispose him to behave in a certain way in a given situation, his actual behavior has not been immediately changed, but there is reason to believe that his behavior will be different, given a certain set of circumstances. If, for example, a teacher gives first-graders a simple little song about crossing the street safely, or, more specifically, crossing the street only when the safety patrol boys signal them to cross, she does not, of course, provide an immediate situation which involves crossing the street at a given signal. This might be possible if she took the group outside with a patrol boy and actually crossed a street a number of times when the correct signal was given. However, it is more probable that the teacher would have the children sing the little song and

discuss its meaning with them. There is no immediate change in behavior, but the teacher hopes that there is a potential change in behavior that will be exhibited when the children as individuals go to a corner where there is a patrol boy.

A great deal of learning is of this kind, which involves potential changes in behavior. As a matter of fact, much of the changed behavior may not be of much significance to the learner until much later in his life. For example, those areas of the social science curriculum which deal with the responsibility of citizens to vote and participate in public affairs obviously cannot immediately be reflected in behavior until the students become adults. This creates problems for teachers when they attempt to find out how effective their teaching is. When the changed behavior, which is the objective of the teaching, is of necessity postponed for some time in the future, evaluation of teaching effectiveness and of the degree of learning that has taken place must be judged in ways that are far less satisfactory than being able to witness the actual changes in behavior. As you well know, schools have developed elaborate methods of evaluation which, in most cases, are represented by some form of testing of students. These tests require oral or written reactions of some kind to situations or questions which call for an expression or identification of correct behavior. But teachers have known for a long time that the mere knowledge of what correct behavior should be may not have much relationship to what the behavior actually will be when a situation arises which may require the desired behavior. Perhaps teachers have tended to lean too heavily upon this kind of evaluation of learning.

The fact that behavior is learned is significant to teachers in another way.

When children exhibit behavior in the school which is not considered to be appropriate or in the best interests of others or of the school in general, it is felt necessary to change the behavior. What we often forget is that the undesirable behavior being exhibited has been learned. Since it has been learned, we should know that there have been pressures or reasons in the life or in the environment of the individual which have resulted in this behavior.

Sometimes it is easier to remove the pressures producing the undesirable behavior than it is to create situations which will result in changing the behavior. An example might be a high school boy who is showing a high degree of unresponsiveness in class and who is not getting his work done on time and frequently not at all. One approach might be to attempt to change the behavior of this boy by stern admonitions or even threats of failure. Both of these measures may produce changes in behavior if it is true. They may also produce hostile or negative feelings in the student, even as his behavior is being changed for the better. Possibly a better approach in such a situation might be to try to determine why he is not getting the work done and to do something about these reasons. Inquiry might reveal the fact that the boy is not getting enough sleep or is not having enough time to do his work because of a part-time job that is too demanding of him. Sympathetic consultation involving the teacher, the parents, possibly the boy's counselor, and the boy himself might produce an alternative solution to his burdensome part-time job, or at least a reduction of the time he spends at it. Thus, the environmental forces producing undesirable behavior have been modified.

This example, of course, has been a

simple one; many other problems faced by teachers are much more complex and probably require much more investigation and work before they have a positive outcome. The point is, however, that an understanding on the part of teachers that all behavior is caused tends to make them conscious of the fact that changing the "teaching causes" in the environment may be far more productive than creating new teaching pressures.

Of all the things in the child's environment that cause learning to take place, the most significant and most potent are those created by other human beings in the child's life. This is not to say that all the people in his environment are operating consciously as teachers. As we have seen, most of these pressures on the child are unconscious ones, for both the people causing them and the child who is experiencing them. The social world, then, that dominates a situation for a developing child is extremely important in terms of the learning he will achieve. The behavior, the values, the habits, the goals, and the expectations of the people in his life are factors which contribute greatly to the process of making a child what he is at any given time.

It has been pointed out that prior to entering school as a kindergarten or first-grade student, the child has achieved many learnings. These have come about because of his interaction with a relatively small group of people in his life. This human circle has been made up primarily of his family and the adults and children in his immediate neighborhood. We can get some idea concerning the reason for the wide differences found among children throughout the country when we think of the wide differences that exist in kinds of family circles, kinds of homes, and kinds of neighborhoods.

The behavior standards, goals, and expectations that surround a child in a Park Avenue home are quite different from those which surround a child in a slum tenement in a large city. The social environment of the isolated rural child has been quite different from that of any urban child. It may be helpful to look specifically at a few examples of children coming from widely differing kinds of environments.

THE SUBURBAN CHILD

Mary lives in a typical "bedroom" community. Her home is one of many thousands in a large housing development outside a major metropolitan center. Mary, who has an older brother, comes to kindergarten from a typical "modern" home which has all the customary gadgets. She has the usual number of toys and she has a yard to play in. The children in her block and immediate area are very much like herself in terms of the kinds of homes in which they live. Mary's parents are ambitious. Her father, who is striving to rise in his particular occupation, works in the business office of a large company in the city. He is gone all day and frequently brings work home in the evening. Her mother actively enters many kinds of local community affairs. In Mary's home are many books and magazines, in addition, of course, to a television set, and several radios. Mary watches TV under the supervision of her mother, who steers her away from programs considered unsuitable for a child. She sees her parents read newspapers, magazines, and books and hears them discuss what they have read, and she frequently hears remarks that are favorable about school, teaching, education, read-

ing, learning, and what might be termed "correct" behavior. Careful attention is given to Mary's physical needs in the sense that she is adequately clothed, has all her immunization shots on schedule, and is taken to the dentist regularly; when she is ill she is given medical attention.

Mary's social environment is a secure one. She gets attention at home. She has the feeling that she is part of the family group. She has many opportunities to play with other children in the neighborhood and to practice social skills with children her own age. During her active preschool years she learned to "give and take" and so has developed a sense of adequacy, or inadequacy, in most of her social situations. The kind of English Mary hears spoken in her home and in her neighborhood is reasonably correct. She has seldom, if ever, heard any profanity. Therefore, Mary's speech is what we would call "correct." She has learned that being clean is valued, although she might not always find it convenient to be clean. She accepts without much question the fact that people brush their teeth morning and night, that they take a bath once a day, and that they put on clean clothes each morning. Furthermore, she accepts without much question at this age the fact that people go to church and Sunday school on Sunday morning and that they have a vacation once a year. These things are all part of the way of life that Mary is experiencing, and they have influenced Mary in such a way that she and the other children in her neighborhood have already developed many values and many biases characteristic of the group to which they belong. Mary is typical of many hundreds of thousands of children in communities such as the one in which she lives. She is a type.

THE RURAL CHILD

We may contrast this picture of Mary with that of Billy, who lives on a farm in a relatively isolated section of a large rural farming area in the Midwest. Prior to his beginning school, Billy's only playmates were a brother four years older than he and a "neighbor" boy, who lives five miles away and who is approximately his age.

Billy's father earns an income which provides Billy with all the physical requirements of a growing child. Like Mary, Billy has had his shots, gets an adequate diet, and is properly clothed and housed.

Billy's social environment, however, is quite different from Mary's in terms of the number of people with whom he has been able to associate. Although his immediate family circle is the same as Mary's, his total social world has been far more limited. For Billy to play with his friend five miles away presents transportation problems for one of the parents. This they have been willing to provide fairly often, but the fact remains that for many days on end Billy plays alone or with a brother much older than he.

Billy has had occasion to observe many kinds of animals and to have an attitude toward them and an understanding of their uses that would be completely foreign to the experience background that Mary has had. Because of the limited social environment in which Billy has developed we can speculate fairly well that the total amount of speech and communication that Billy has carried on in his lifetime has been many, many times less than that which Mary has carried on. He has had much less practice in relating with human beings than has the other child.

There are few books in Billy's home, but his father subscribes to a farm periodical, and the weekly county paper brings news of county and state happenings. (There is a radio, which is on most of the day, giving some news, mainly local and regional, crop and weather reports, and the usual recorded music programs.) Billy's family hopes to get a TV set soon if crops are good, but since they are in a fringe reception area expensive installation makes TV a real luxury. Billy is among the increasingly small number of children who will not be TV addicts by the time they reach school.

THE SLUM CHILD

It is well that we look at one other child who is just beginning school. George lives with his father and mother and three brothers and two sisters in a three-room, third-floor flat in one of the worst tenements of a large city. All six children sleep in the same room. Some of them do not have a bed in which to sleep, but sleep on pads on the floor. At the time George starts school, he cannot recall a time when the entire family sat down around the table to eat together. Eating is a matter of coming in and being handed a dish of food by the mother at mealtime and finding a place to eat it. Sometimes there has been no food. The quarreling among the children often results in physical combat. It is necessary that each child learn at an early age to protect what is his, including his own rights.

George has spent very little time in the flat that is his home. Most of his time is spent on the street below. He seldom goes away from his own block, which he knows intimately. The hallways, the flats,

the alleys, the shops are all well known to George. By the time he enters school, he has engaged in uncounted numbers of fights, both as an individual and as part of a small group against other small groups.

George's home contains practically no reading material. Sometimes there is a newspaper, sometimes there are handbills or other material that is delivered to all the flats. There are no books, there are no periodicals, there are no magazines. He picks up comic books and similar material from the scrap cans in the neighborhood; in general, reading activities are not a part of his environment. Poor as his home situation is, however, there is a television set, as there is in each of the other flats. George and his brothers and sisters spend much time watching television.

In the course of his short life so far, George has seen all kinds of human degradation, brutality, drunkenness. He has experienced some of these things himself. More than either of the other two children we have looked at, George has had many human beings in his social environment, but few of these individuals have lent security to his development. George's environment is insecure in that he is never sure what may happen from hour to hour or from day to day. He is far more independent than the other two children we have described, for he has had to make his own way and solve his own problems at an early age. His expectations of people are not high. To him people have become creatures from whom he gets what he can, from whom he protects himself. When George starts school his behavior, his attitudes, his values, and the things he is seeking from his daily living will obviously be far different from those of either Mary or Billy.

As can readily be seen, vast differences

exist in the types of learning experiences these three children will have had by the time they enter school. But the differences cannot be categorized only by the type of community from which they come: within each of these communities there will be an equally large number of factors that will have made each child from that community different from every other child in it.

How will a child from these communities be affected by being a child of divorced parents, by being a member of a minority group, by having a physical handicap? How many of these children will live in the same community all their lives? Will those who have moved come from the same type of environment or from a completely different environment? How will these factors affect their ability to adjust to new learning situations?

DISTRIBUTION AND MOBILITY OF POPULATION

Since the end of World War II the United States has witnessed an ever-increasing mobility of its population, both geographically and culturally. Each year approximately one fifth of the population moves from one place to another. Who are these people? Where are they going? For what reasons are they moving?

During the year 1957-1958, 33 million Americans moved to a different dwelling. Of this number about 22 million moved within the same county, while 5½ million moved in the same state and the remaining 5½ million moved to a different state.¹

¹ U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Mobility of the Population," *Current Population Reports*, Series P-20, No. 85 (October 13, 1958).

The most highly mobile age group was the group from twenty to twenty-four, 42.6 percent of whom moved during that year. Thirty-five percent of the twenty-five to twenty-nine-year-olds and 28 percent of the one- to four-year-olds moved during this period.²

In addition to the increased rate of mobility we have been experiencing, there has also been a shift in the population of our communities. Between 1950 and 1955 the number of metropolises (a city and its suburbs with a population of 50,000 or more) grew from 168 to 174, with an increase in population of 12 million. However, the population of the suburbs increased 9,600,000, whereas the cities themselves increased only 2,400,000.³

This highly mobile trend of our population, coupled with the shift from rural to urban and particularly to suburban population, presents for teachers of today a whole new series of problems as well as rewards.

A smaller and smaller number of teachers will be teaching in rural areas. Many of the urban and suburban children they are teaching may never have been on a farm. Many of the teachers themselves will have little if any knowledge of farm life. For those teachers who teach in predominantly rural areas but who come from urban areas, the problem of communication may be great. On the other hand, there are infinite possibilities for each to learn from the other. What role does the school and the teacher have in providing these rural children, who themselves may shortly become urban or suburban residents, with experiences that will help them make this cultural change?

² *Ibid.*

³ Robert C. Wood, *Suburbia: Its People and Their Politics* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1958).

What role should the school and the teacher play in maintaining and enriching the experiences of those who will remain?

Teachers going into the suburban schools will face many attitudes and values that are different from those of teachers in rural and even urban areas. Suburbia could be termed "mass conformity." People from the same socioeconomic level with the same values congregate together in the same area and strive to be, do, and remain the same as their neighbors. How much creativity will a teacher find among children from these homes? What values do these children have? Are they able to understand and accept the values of other people? How tolerant are they of other races, other religions, other social classes?

On the other hand, studies indicate that life in suburbia tends to be centered around the children. Parents want their children to be healthy and to be happy; they want good schools and good recreational facilities for them. And they strive to see that these things are provided. The suburban teacher may therefore find the parents taking a much more active, interested part in the education of their children, both in and out of school, than is apparent in either the rural or urban areas.

All our teachers, regardless of the type of community in which they work, will be faced with mobile children. Children come into the classroom; others leave it. For the child this can mean many things. A child moving into a new community will be in the process of becoming accepted as a member of his age group. How easy this may or may not be can be deeply affected by the type of community from which he came, the number of times he has previously made this ad-

justment, his racial, religious, class, and cultural position as compared with that of the rest of the group. At the same time he will find himself confronted with a new teacher, a new principal, and a whole new set of rules. What he brings with him in experiential and cultural background will help to determine his success in being accepted and in adjusting to his new environment.

However, mobility need not be a detrimental force in the life of a child. It can provide him with many new experiences which will mingle with the old. It may allow him to meet and know many different kinds of people. It can teach him how to gain acceptance and how to become accepting.

THE FAMILY EDUCATES

In any given community or neighborhood forces are present that will provide similar experiences for the children of the area and that may produce similar behavior and attitudes in them. However, closer examination below the surface of sameness in a neighborhood reveals acute differences. For each neighborhood is made up of families, and no two families in any one neighborhood are the same.

The important thing for the teacher to remember is that every child in his classroom has been, and is going to continue to be, educated by his home and his family. The teacher should therefore understand some of the many forces which operate within the home and contribute to this education. Later in your teacher preparation you will study these forces in greater detail, but we shall take a brief look at some of them here.

What exactly do children learn in the

home? As noted earlier, they learn most of their basic skills: how to eat, how to dress themselves, how to control elimination functions. They learn how to play, how and when to be quiet, and what kind of behavior produces what results. They learn attitudes regarding race, religion, politics, sex, social position, cultural activities.

Numerous studies exist which reveal the similarity of child-parent attitudes at different ages. In early life, the child mirrors most of his parents' attitudes. As he grows in knowledge and independence, he modifies many of these attitudes in the direction of those in his peer group, or of his own individual experiences. In general, those attitudes with the least emotional content are modified most readily.⁴

The structure of the family itself will have an effect upon the child. How large is the family? Is the child an only child, the oldest child, the youngest? Are both parents living? Are the parents divorced? Is there a stepparent? Is the child adopted? Does he live with relatives other than his family? Does anyone other than the immediate family live in the home?

How these questions are answered will show what forces have affected the child. For example, the oldest child in a family of five or six may have many experiences in helping care for the younger brothers and sisters. These experiences may provide many opportunities for the child to mature. On the other hand, such a child may deeply resent having to help and may develop attitudes and behavior far from desirable. If the oldest child is a girl, and she has been required to assume

extraordinary responsibilities for "bringing up" younger siblings because of the mother's outside job, or even indifference, the girl could develop an attitude toward homemaking and family-raising activities that may well color her future role as a wife and mother.

The child from a divorced home will have many kinds of adjustments to make. He may feel the loss of one of his parents very deeply and suffer greatly from a sense of divided loyalty. There may be a remarriage which will mean a new kind of adjustment to a new person. On the other hand, this child may be exposed to far less tension than would have been present had the parents remained together "for the sake of the children." To date there has been no concrete proof that divorce, as such, is harmful to the child. Some opinions and studies show it to be detrimental to every aspect of the child's life, while others conclude that children in many cases benefit. A look at some of the factors involved in the divorce problem is revealing.

First, divorce is not the major reason for parents being separated. There are twice as many parents living in separate residences than are divorced. Some of these are separated by work requirements, such as military duty or foreign service; a large number represent separations not involving divorce. Each year divorces affect approximately 330,000 more children. Each year a number somewhat larger than this is orphaned by the death of at least one parent. Not always considered is the fact that most divorced parents remarry. In 1958, 87 percent of the families with children under eighteen had both a mother and father, even though one may have been a stepparent. Some studies have shown that children may fare better as a result of a decisive rupture of

⁴ Warren R. Baller and Don C. Charles, *The Psychology of Human Growth and Development* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1961), p. 352.

the marriage, and, also, that remarriages may create better home situations for many children. In summarizing the discussion of the effect of divorce on children from which the above figures were used, Rutledge says:

... youth has the potential of turning most tragedy into a growing experience. For at least two years now, of the delinquents appearing before the courts in Detroit, a larger number have come from two-parent homes than from one-parent homes.

How can this fact be reconciled with the bulk of evidence of the destructiveness of divorce upon children?

Perhaps the best answer lies in the fact that divorce is an end product of an already broken home. Even when studies show that a relatively higher percentage of delinquent children come from divorced homes, one must recognize many other factors contributing to the disturbance. Among these would be economic conditions, community in which the child lives, etc., which were already in effect in most cases before the divorce occurred. Also the long-time marital conflict had had its effect upon them and could not be distinguished from the final break of the divorce.⁵

For the prospective teacher, the child of divorced parents presents himself as a boy or girl who has had special stresses and anxieties in his life. His environment may have been less secure than those of his classmates. He may have special needs. He has learned many things about life.

The atmosphere within the home also plays an important part in educating the child. Some children come from homes where there are constant tension and hostility, while others experience only love and understanding. Some children are

loved and cherished very much by their parents, while others may be totally unwanted. Some parents are very permissive with their children, while others may be very strict.

Studies indicate that

1. Children from cold, unloving homes tend to be aggressive, to have a variety of adjustment problems. . . .

2. Children from warm loving homes, where recognition and acceptance as individuals and careful guidance predominate, tend to be outgoing, active in home and school affairs, friendly and individualistic. . . .

3. Children whose wants are satisfied indiscriminately, who dominate their parents, who do not have the experience of consistent guidance and discipline, do not as a group fare very well outside the home. . . .⁶

Within no two families will one be able to find an exact duplication of the combination of possibilities that make up the total environment of the child. Yet from these homes each and every child will in his lifetime learn more than he will learn in any other one place. The teacher must begin with each child at that point from which he emerges as a member of one, individual family.

MASS MEDIA EDUCATE

In an era where television sets are in homes where there is often not enough to eat, where the printed word is available to almost anyone, one must consider the effects of mass media of communication on the education of the child.

One study has shown that "TV appears clearly as the favorite leisure activity of children, youth, and adults." In another study it was found that 99 percent of the

⁵ Aaron L. Rutledge, "Marriage Problems and Divorce," in *Children and Youth in the 1960's*. Survey papers prepared for the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth; (Washington, D.C.: The Conference, 1960), p. 225.

⁶ Baller and Charles, *op. cit.*, pp. 347-348.

elementary pupils in Chicago reported sets at home. And more than one third of these children indicated that they had two sets."⁷

Truly television can be considered the strongest medium available for entertaining, informing, educating, or duping the public. This is primarily true because it combines both the senses of seeing and hearing and because it is easily available to man, woman, and child.

Is television, then, a good influence in our society or is it bad? One well-known American puts it this way:

The TV operators make all sorts of claims about the power of their medium to sell all sorts of goods. They boast about the ease with which they can dominate the fashions of teenagers just by having TV stars dress in a certain way. Yet they see no cause-and-effect relationship between what they show on the screen and the increasing addiction of young people to cheap violence.

Nothing is more important in the education of a child than to give him respect for the fragility of human life, and a sensitivity to the precarious balances on which life depends. Along with this goes the need to help a child know how to establish and maintain healthy relationships with other people. The principal effect of television is to cancel out this kind of education and indeed to reverse it. The TV screen thus becomes an arena in the home for cheapening human life, and an exercise in human desensitization.

The men who govern TV cannot have it both ways. They cannot lay claim to fabulous powers in affecting the sale of merchandise yet disclaim responsibility for affecting easy attitudes toward violence. They cannot obtain free from the American people a broadcasting franchise worth billions of dollars yet feel no special responsibility to uphold the public interest.

⁷ Paul Witty, "The Effects of the Mass Media," in *Children and Youth in the 1960's*, p. 156).

Of course there are good things on TV. In fact, the good things are getting better. But the bad things are getting worse, and there are many more of them. For every dramatic production like "The Moon and Sixpence" or an information program like the Friendly-Murrow production on missiles—tributes to the imagination and capability of television—there are dozens of bang-bang Westerns, rock-em and sock'em cheapies and brain-beaters.

No one expects television to become a ponderous, bloated, around-the-clock Sunday sermon. But neither do we expect it to be a mammoth school for sadists. One thing is certain. Increasingly, the connection between the superabundance of glamorized violence programs and the mounting national bill for juvenile delinquency and crime in general will become manifest.⁸

But all is not discouraging with regard to television. There is evidence that educational, political, and social leaders are awakening to the vast potential for human good that lies in this relatively new means of human communication. At the time this chapter is being written, legislation is before both houses of Congress which proposes to allocate large numbers of high-frequency channels to education. Technological refinements in television broadcasting now make it possible for programs to be broadcast from school to school, from studio to several schools, and so on. The decade ahead will without question see dramatic new developments in television as a useful, educational tool.

Improvements in the quality and range of commercial television programming may also occur. Along with the pressure for national support for educational TV has come widespread criticism of commercial TV standards, as witnessed by congressional inquiries and contemplated

⁸ Norman Cousins, "The Real Fraud," *Saturday Review*, 21:27 (1959). Reprinted by permission of *Saturday Review*.

legislation affecting the role of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC).

The growing child, particularly the urban one, is subjected to many other mass media conditioners, all of which educate him. These range from the constant output from radios, including the ubiquitous transistor sets, to the comic books in every drugstore and supermarket. The radio music punctuated with commercials that pervades most homes, cars, and even retail establishments may have a profound effect upon the development of musical taste and levels of appreciation. The traditional function of music as an artistic creation of sound to which one gives one's attention for esthetic purposes may be changing to that of merely being one of many continuous sense accompaniments which follow us throughout our waking hours.

Movies are significant educative influences in the lives of most children and youth. They may accept the values and behavior portrayed on the screen as real and valid. The glamour, the emphasis upon romantic sex, and the adventure of the movie stories may help to establish false or superficial life goals for the impressionable young. Evidence on this point is contradictory, however, and many argue that a certain amount of the "escapist" function of drama, as in literature, is as helpful to the young as it is for the adult.

The fact remains that, since the total experiential environment of the child molds him and provides the raw material from which he forms his perceptions and his developing concepts of life and of people, all these media of mass communication have become important considerations for teachers. The prospective teacher must be a knowledgeable and in-

sightful professional in the field of mass conditioning processes.

RECREATIONAL INTERESTS EDUCATE

A generation or so ago children usually provided much of their own recreation. Rural children often had to work during most of their vacation and out-of-school periods. Urban children played in the streets and yards of their neighborhood at activities often invented and regulated entirely by themselves. True, there were summer camps of one kind or another for those who could afford them; but the majority of children grew up in the relatively unsupervised give-and-take social groups of their immediate home and neighborhood.

Today, leisure-time activities of children and youth receive the attention of a host of agencies and professional people. Leisure time has become something as planned and regulated as school. Probably no other nation has given so much attention to the recreational needs of children and youth as has ours.

Almost all large cities have public recreation agencies and public recreation programs for adults as well as children. The leisure time of the child becomes, it often seems, something for which groups compete. A few years ago in a midwestern city the ministerial association arranged a meeting of many organizations and groups to see if some agreements could be reached regarding the allocation of week nights to different groups on a schedule so that what appeared to be harmful competition could be reduced. No agreements could be achieved. The schools, it appeared, wanted Friday and Saturday nights for

games and dances; the local Teen Club had to have at least one night; the YMCA and the YWCA scheduled classes and activities every night. The schools also insisted on heavy homework assignments during the week, and so it went. The plea of the ministers that the community agree on one night during the week when church youth groups could meet was rejected. One youth agency representative stated that in his opinion the churches would have to offer programs that were more interesting and exciting than their "competition." Perhaps this is not necessarily bad, but it illustrates a characteristic of our time: the time of children and youth is subject to many pressures that often require complicated scheduling by the individual; this means multiple choices. Parallel to this is the fact that much of the leisure activity of children and youth is planned for them. Leisure time may, indeed, no longer be "leisure" time but "too busy" time.

In contemplating the veritable smörgåsbord of activities that can be spread before their children, are parents perhaps forgetting that a child needs quiet and relaxation too? That he needs time for solitude and reverie—time to piece together his scattered experiences, to dream; time for just growing?⁹

Again, the questions that mass recreation raises, as in the case of mass communication, may not be all negative ones. Never before have so many Americans been able to participate in so many activities, many of which are undoubtedly valuable. Prendergast, whose comments on recreation trends were noted above, goes on to point out several encouraging facts concerning the status of participa-

tion in the arts in this country. These figures may be listed briefly as follows:

1. There are 28,000,000 Americans who play some musical instrument.
2. More people attend concerts each year than attend baseball games.
3. There are 35,000 orchestras, 50,000 bands, 100,000 choruses, and 8,500,000 children playing instruments in schools.
4. There are 100 regional ballet companies averaging 20 dancers each, most of them should be teen-agers.
5. The public recreation department of the City of Oakland, California, conducts 38 classes each week in modern dance with a total enrollment of 475.
6. Community theaters number over 5,000 and there are over 500 opera-producing groups.
7. There is a growing movement for developing culture centers and art councils in cities.¹⁰

These are encouraging figures. Moreover, programs in many other areas of the arts can make similar claims. Cultural and esthetic interests should increase drastically as man moves further into the age of automation and technology.

SUMMARY

One of the first realities teachers must recognize and understand is that the school does not have a monopoly on learning and teaching. Indeed, nonschool-oriented learning makes up the bulk of the learning each individual achieves in a lifetime. A large number of social and cultural factors operate to educate the developing child. Together they account for his total environment, and the school is but one factor in this environment. These forces not only "teach" the child in the accepted sense of the word; they

⁹ Joseph Prendergast, "New Worlds for Boys and Girls," in *Children and Youth in the 1960's*, p. 168.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

also mold his total growth and development insistently and subtly. Sociological and cultural phenomena of our technological modern age, such as population mobility, mass media of communication, and rapid change in all areas of living, serve both as serious problems and as exciting challenges to education.

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7

The Culture of the School: Elementary

Hospitals smell like antiseptic. Post offices smell like ink. Churches smell like wood and wax. Schools smell like children and chalk.

Just as institutions have a special smell, so do they have a special character, a special way of doing things, a special way of organizing the people whom they affect and by whom the institutions are in turn affected.

We have all been in schools, many schools. Schools are "old stuff" to each of us. We can conjure up vividly the schools we have attended. And yet, though we have all been "through" school, there is a great deal that has been hidden from view. As students we have seen and smelled and observed only a portion of the total life of the institution. As a student only a privileged few ever knew which teacher liked or disliked which other teacher; few knew if the principal was loved or feared. Some sensitive souls

in junior and senior high school could accurately place which student groups "rated" and which did not. Probably neither students, teachers, nor administrators could adequately assess the place of school traditions and school "spirit." These are examples of the ingredients that make up an institution, particularly a school. For a teacher these attributes of the institution are of special relevance, but they are particularly hard to identify and classify.

It is important to make the point that any working group establishes its own ways of doing things. Each work group has developed the right or the wrong way to dress, to talk to the boss, to react to work policies. The sociology of institutions is concerned with a study of these kinds of informal processes which, although never appearing on paper, nevertheless contribute substantially to satisfaction or dissatisfaction with one's job. Studies have been made of factories, business offices, labor unions, management groups—of many kinds of work situations—to try to find out these subtle but very powerful forces that exert controls over individual behavior.

Schools, too, have been studied in order to find out what constitutes their particular "culture." In this chapter we shall try to provide a better understanding of the elementary school as a social institution. Both the informal and the more formal aspects of structure and organization will be viewed. This will help to place in perspective some of the elements that go into a total educational experience.

Having been students most of your lives, your attitude toward what happens in school is understandably biased. Now it is important that you begin to see the school as it looks and feels to the teacher. Moreover, a look at the school as an institution can help to isolate those forces which, although very important, are of-

ten not noticed when schools are observed. Such things as the *sources* of school spirit, the components of high teacher morale, and the pattern of superior-subordinate relationships determine the success of an educational enterprise, but often are not understood because they are not always clear and obvious.

The student of education needs to have a good awareness of the processes of institutional change. Change includes considerations regarding the total school structure: changing one part can have a salutary or distressing effect on other parts. There may be a tremendous school reaction to seemingly insignificant changes if these changes are made without regard for the sociology of the institution. On the other hand, great changes can be adopted with high morale and optimum functioning if the institutional dynamics are understood and utilized. The culture of the school, says Waller, is "a curious *mélange* of the work of young artisans making culture for themselves and old artisans making culture for the young." ¹

A SOCIETY IN MICROCOSM

Each school can be viewed as a society in miniature. The elementary school, unlike the high school, is not as apt to create a school "personality" or to develop binding traditions. For one thing, children are too young in at least half the grades in the school to respond to such social controls. The mobility of the population also militates against the creation of a school personality as far as children and parents are concerned. Elementary schools, how-

ever, do gain reputations. These reputations rest upon such factors as what the grapevine says about the principal, whether his faculty members do or do not like him, whether he is strict or easy, warm or aloof, helpful or critical of his teachers. Old or new buildings help create a reputation for an elementary school, as well as the kind of children presumed to attend.

The life of the children and the life of the adults, though in continual association, are not necessarily congruent. While children, when asked, unanimously approve of learning as a good thing, they are sharply divided on whether school is a good or a not so good place to be.²

Children in the first grade recognize with acute perception that school is one of the most significant experiences of their lives. They are alternately fearful and proud of being in school. What happens to the child in his early school years will mark him forever. He will often have his first impressionable experiences with worlds other than his own home and neighborhood. His concept of others as well as of himself may be significantly changed. Thus, what happens in the elementary school can rightly be the concern of all educators at whatever level they may function. Furthermore, what happens to a child in an elementary school is comparable to what happens to him—to any individual—in the ebb and flow, the action and interaction, the give-and-take, and the process of living that goes on in "real life." The child's experiences in the elementary school will be different, of course, from his life out of school, but the essential ingredients of living—

¹ Willard Waller, *The Sociology of Teaching* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1932), p. 107.

² Frank J. Estban and Elizabeth W. Estban, *One Child's World: His Social Perception* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1959), pp. 214 ff.

people, activities, problems, groups, misunderstandings, understandings, hopes, fears, successes, failures, friends, enemies, good feelings, bad feelings, and many other things—are a part of the complicated life of a child in school. They make of the school a society, specialized and adult-directed it is true, but nevertheless a social arena specifically as well as unintentionally designed for growth and learning.

The social life of a school is made up of many persons. There are many teachers; there is an administrative head of the school; there are custodial personnel, cafeteria workers, a school clerk, bus drivers, and specialists from the central office. This social life is complex; and, like any institution, each school develops its own morale, its own network of human relationships.

What most people may remember of school life is from the standpoint of the student. This experience may have taken place ten, twelve, or twenty years earlier. How much can one actually “remember”? In our first illustration in this book, George recalls some vivid attributes of his early teachers, but we note that he fails to grasp the totality which was the elementary school.

One’s memories are always highly selective, and we tend to remember mostly those things that do us credit, except for traumatic moments of fear or humiliation. In any event, what one remembers of “how it used to be” can hardly take into account the total institution.

As prospective teachers, it is helpful to have another and different look at the school from the inside, as it is seen and experienced by teachers. Here, for instance, a teacher reports on her feelings about the first day of school:

Sept. 15th. First day of school again! After sixteen years of teaching why do I still feel shaky on the first day? Why do I have this “What will I do with this roomful of kids” feeling? I always expected that by now I’d be feeling perfectly at ease and entirely competent. With thirty-five children and their mothers looking me over today, I hope that I at least appear to be capable. . . .

I wonder what this class will be like? What will I learn this year? I’ve already decided to incorporate in the program some of the things I’ve done and to discard others. I hope to attempt some things I’ve never done before. . . .

Talk about “individual differences”! In this group some are tiny, some tall, short, fat, skinny. Some look scared; some curious; a few, dull. There’s one roaming—like a wild mustang all over the room—he’s going to pep things up from the start—wonder what’s back of his restlessness.³

The school from the viewpoint of the teacher is quite a different place from that of the student. The population, for one thing, is different. You have just read the reaction of a first-grade teacher who greets a new class each year. The first-grade child of the previous year, on the other hand, has now moved into a second-grade room, where he meets a new teacher and a few new children. One of the major peculiarities of the school as an institution is that, although children are in the overwhelming majority in the school, they have the least power. The adults, few in number in relation to the rest of the population in the institution, control the environment. Control is exercised through formal and informal means. The formal avenues of control are characterized by rules, titles, organization

³ Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, *Creating a Good Environment for Learning* (1954 Yearbook; Washington, D.C.: The Association, 1954), p. 16.

and structure of the building, and the designation of rooms and places for certain purposes and activities. The child as a student is told the rules, he learns who is the principal and notes that he is a figure of authority in the adult hierarchy. He learns about the building and where things are done: eating in the cafeteria, singing in the music room, and so on.

The student glimpses only occasionally, and certainly by accident, the informal adult structure of the school. This is the structure that exists in any work relationship among people. When we say that a certain school or a certain industry has high morale, we mean in essence that these people have established, within the formal organization, an informal structure that encourages major productivity in relation to the task at hand. Good morale is marked by ease of cooperation among individuals; by lack of strain, tension, and conflict; by efficiency of decision making; and by a general warmth among the members of the working group toward each other.

To teachers, morale is an essential element. Teachers who are unhappy in their working relationships will not be particularly at ease with the children they must teach. The informal social structure is the most potent force in determining the morale of any group. In the school setting, although the organizational charts may look identical from school to school, the internal system can be very different.

THE PRINCIPAL AS A SIGNIFICANT PERSON IN THE SCHOOL

A key person in establishing the informal social system, and thus the morale

of a school, is the principal. He is the chief administrative officer and the educational leader of the school. Women in administrative roles in education are typically found as either elementary school principals or school supervisors, consultants, guidance workers, or other school specialists. They seldom are principals of junior or senior high schools. In recent years more men have been assigned elementary school principalships as one method of recruiting and keeping men in the profession. Many other reasons are given for putting men in this leadership position, not the least being that women and men on the whole tend to prefer to work for men principals.

In the elementary school the principal typically works with a rather small group of teachers whom he can know quite well. His relationship is not, however, quite the same as that of the boss in an office or a factory. Although the principal is the recognized "head" of his school and is legally responsible for what goes on in it, he may or may not be the professional superior of all members of his staff. He may have a teacher, for instance, who is gifted in art, or has taken advanced study in remedial reading, or is specially trained for working with handicapped children. Such persons may, in their own fields, know a great deal more than the principal. Also, in terms of professional training, the faculty members may have taken as many college courses as the principal has had. Thus, while the principal is in a position of authority in some ways, he may be less competent than some of his teachers to make some kinds of decisions about teaching or about the school. The principal, too, may be limited in his authority to hire or fire a teacher. His evaluations may help determine which proba-

tionary teachers are retained or who is transferred—or his opinion may not be sought at all.

The members of the teaching staff are all considered to be professional people. Because of the close contact they have with each other daily and because of the development of theories regarding the best basis for school decisions, principals are educated to work in a “democratic” fashion with their staffs. What this actually means in practice may vary widely. Some principals may refer almost all questions to their faculty members while others may issue orders and directives and leave little room for any staff participation. Teachers themselves may not be quite clear as to how much responsibility they wish to have in decision making. Some may feel that a principal who asks his faculty to decide most questions is passing the buck, or is unsure of himself, or is merely lazy.⁴

Teachers who are in schools where a principal consults his faculty about very few items, and then only unimportant ones, may feel that they are not being treated in a professional manner. What is true “democratic” school administration is still unclear, and teachers and administrators do not necessarily agree on a definition.⁵

In the typical modern elementary school, however, the principal brings many decisions to the faculty group. These decisions may have to do with the equitable assignment of teachers to such duties as supervision of the cafeteria or

the playground, or they may relate to the plans for an all-school activity, such as a Christmas play. The faculty may be asked to decide some curriculum questions, such as the details of an experimental program with a nongraded primary group or the introduction of some new science material in earlier grades. The principal also communicates to his faculty the decisions made by the superintendent's staff and the policies of the board of education as they effect his school. The school principal must judge to what extent teachers have the time, energy, and interest to participate in school decisions. Where morale is adequate, teachers usually feel that they have been consulted on important issues, but that the principal has taken upon himself those matters which require individual action and are essentially administrative in nature.

The position of the elementary school principal is changing. At one time he was a fearsome and authoritative person. In recent years, however, it has become increasingly recognized that the principal can function more effectively as a professional leader if he works with his faculty instead of merely issuing orders to it. As elementary schools have become larger, additional clerks and assistant principals have been added to take care of increasing administrative and clerical tasks, freeing the principal for closer work with teachers and parents.

TEACHERS AS SIGNIFICANT PERSONS IN THE SCHOOL

Teachers work with other teachers in many situations. These relationships, as in any work situation, are highly intricate and very potent. Where relationships

⁴ Jean D. Grambs, “Do Teachers Really Want Democratic Administrators?” *The Nation's Schools*, 46:40-41 (November 1950).

⁵ Howard S. Becker, “The Teacher in the Authority System of the Public School,” *Journal of Education Sociology*, 27:128-141 (November 1953).

among staff members are easy and supporting, an individual can feel secure about both the job and the children to be taught. Where there is friction, envy, or bickering, it is difficult to feel at ease in the classroom even with the door shut against the other adults for most of the day.

Teachers are peculiarly dependent on each other. In the elementary school they "inherit" each other's children: second-graders move on to the third grade, and so on. The children talk about how they hated to leave the second grade because Miss X was so wonderful to them. Or they wish Mrs. Y would give them lollipops as prizes the way Miss Q did the year before. Teachers, via the grapevine of children, learn an amazing lot about each other, much of it screened through the particular needs and eyes of children. One teacher may continually keep her children in a state of nervous tension as they wonder who will be the next victim of her sharp sarcasm. These children will be promoted to the next grade or room in an emotional state not conducive to the best educational progress. On the other hand, a highly popular teacher may even be disliked by some teachers with whom she works because the students so visibly like her. Such feelings are not necessarily common, but they do occur.

Most of the teachers in elementary schools are women. Many of them are quite young, either newly married, or waiting to be married, or looking forward to their first child. The turnover in elementary school teachers is thus very high. Even more important, the dominant orientation of the elementary school is feminine. The youngster may have contact with a man physical education teacher, or a man principal, or a man teacher in one of the upper elementary grades, but

in many schools there may be no men at all. To what extent this affects school practices or programs is a matter of conjecture. It is probable that women teachers are far less sympathetic to the aggressive behavior of boys than male teachers would be.

The few men teachers in elementary schools may feel particularly alone or different. Although very few studies have been made of the male elementary school teacher, one such study, while revealing their general satisfaction with teaching and with their jobs, did indicate that nearly half of the respondents felt isolated among the women teachers in the school. Over a fourth stated that they felt people thought elementary school teaching was a sissy job for a man and that people tended to think them a little peculiar. Only half felt that they would remain in their present jobs, and nearly that many felt they should be paid more than the women teachers.⁶ It is agreed by many authorities that more men are probably needed in elementary schools, but as long as the men are in a distinct minority and as long as there is a feeling that some communities do not accord a man elementary school teacher full respect, it will be difficult to recruit and keep a sizable group of men teachers in the elementary schools. This is unfortunate, since children probably need a much earlier contact with men teachers than they now have. Elementary school teaching in many urban areas, however, is an excellent professional opportunity for young men.

It is relatively rare to find older men in the elementary schools. The median age

⁶ Dorothy Rogers, "A Study of the Reactions of Forty Men to Teaching in the Elementary School," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 27:24-35 (September 1953).

for men in elementary schools teaching is 33.9 years; for women it is 45.5 years. Most men teaching in the elementary schools aspire to administrative positions or to teaching jobs in secondary schools. Married men greatly outnumber unmarried men; and in the elementary schools most of the women are married as well.⁷ Current figures on elementary school teachers indicate that the average age of women teachers is declining as more and more young women enter the profession. Elementary school principals report that one of their greatest problems is that so many promising young women enter teaching, teach two or three years until they are really competent, then leave to start their own families. In any school, therefore, there will be many young women just beginning their professional career, but there will also be a sizable group of older women, returning to teaching after their own children are grown. Among all these women teachers there may be quite a few who do not have a career commitment, who do not see themselves primarily as teachers, but who are putting a husband or a child through college. When there are after-school meetings, extra duties in yard or lunchroom, special courses necessary for keeping up with new developments in education, many of these teachers may be understandably reluctant to give up the needed time. Thus the elementary school may have some special problems of professional adjustment not to be found in other professions or even in most other educational institutions.

The strategic significance of the role of the principal is again seen here in terms of the problem of teachers' attitude to-

ward teaching. A principal who helps his staff develop genuine involvement in the program of the school, who gives them the needed aid at the right moment and in the right way with difficult children, and who helps them see some of the larger dimensions of the educational task can counteract to a large extent the semi-professional approach of a sizable group of elementary school teachers. It must be kept in mind, however, that there is another very large group of dedicated professional teachers in the elementary schools who, primarily because of their own deep interest in children and commitment to education, work far longer and with far less reward than do people in other positions.

The school hierarchy is of particular interest to the teacher. She finds herself part of a faculty made up of people of differing ages, people who nevertheless consider themselves all more or less professional peers. That is, there are no status recognitions given to individual teachers: all are just "teachers." As the new teacher gets to know the members of the faculty group he soon finds that there are many differences. There will be several cliques of teachers in each faculty, often centered around similarities in age or length of service in the system. The few men usually stick together, as may the upper-grade teachers and the lower-grade teachers. The cliques may be marked by different educational points of view—the moderns as against the conservatives. There may be a clique of the "career" teachers as against the "time-servers." Some principals have a small group of confidants whom they trust to keep them informed on what is going on in the school and who transmit their wishes via the informal grapevine. A principal with a strong personality may find his faculty

⁷ NEA, *Research Bulletin*, 35 (No. 1): 9 (February 1957).

lined up into various camps, depending on their degree of acceptance of his philosophy or policies. Assessing the interpersonal relationships in a school is often not easy. A report of one elementary school states:

It was difficult to determine the exact nature of the principal's relationship with the teachers in spite of her apparently warm and permissive attitude. In a way, they seemed to be afraid of her, reporting like children on what they had done and how they managed. An observer would gain the impression that each teacher had an idea of what the principal expected and tried to live up to that idea. There was some difficulty about the relationship of the four activity teachers—music, physical education, art, and assembly—to the rest of the staff. The feeling seemed to exist that these teachers dominated the school, in that they gave directions to the homeroom teachers. Actually there was little evidence for the suspicion that the activity teachers held the balance of power. . . .⁸

The ramifications of the interpersonal relationships among the adults in the school are of first concern to the teacher as a person. But the school culture is influenced by many other forces.

PARENTS AND THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

Before a child ever enters school he has built up a vision of school and himself as a learner. Where did he get his ideas of what school would be like? His first instructors were his parents. In a research study of how children viewed their entry into first grade, most mothers reported that they were "just rarin' to go," or that "it's all he talks about." The children had

also learned about school from their brothers and sisters and children on the block. Most reports of school from these sources appeared to be favorable. But some were not. Mothers reported that some fearful children had been told such things as, "Just wait till you get to the first grade, boy, you'll have to work," or "You'd better be good or you get sent to the principal."

Although children anticipated going to school as did their parents for them, they were clearly informed about the ways in which the school would work upon them:

The school has been presented as a socializing agency. The child has been told he must behave himself in school, must mind the teacher, must be quiet, must not interrupt, that the teacher takes the place of his mother and is the boss.⁹

So it is no blank slate upon which the eager teacher can write joy and hope and a burning desire to learn. The child does want to learn—immediately!—but he has also become aware of the fact that school is a particular place expecting certain behaviors of him. Depending on his early experiences with parents and other adults, he will come to the school compliant and willing, or rebellious and suspicious.

The parents start the child on his way. And unique among educational systems, the American schools expect the parent to stay close by as the years pass. In no other country is such active encouragement given to parents to participate in their child's growth in school and to be a part of many school affairs. Booklets are sent home to parents: "How You Can Help Your Child in School," or "Things Parents Can Do to Help Their Child

⁸ Hilda Taba, *School Culture: Studies of Participation and Leadership* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1955), p. 63.

⁹ Celia Burns Stendler and Norman Young, "The Beginning of Formal School Experience," *Child Development*, 21:241–255 (1950).

Read." In many elementary schools parents of new first-graders are invited in for one or several orientation meetings where the program of the school is described, questions are answered, and ways in which parents can help their children are pointed out. In most cases a distinction is drawn between teaching the child and helping him. Parents can help best by providing a variety of new experiences for their children, furnishing books and appropriate magazines, introducing them to good movies, drama, music, and so on. On the other hand, parents usually do not know how to help a child—in a teaching sense—to learn to read; to try to do so may only confuse him. And if the school says to write in one way and a parent instructs the child in a different way, trouble probably lies ahead.

The parent-teacher association is one of the largest mass organizations in the country, attesting to the interest of parents in their children's education. Jokes are made about the need to attend PTA meetings: "It isn't that I mind having another child at my age," says one middle-aged matron to another, "It's those PTA meetings I'll have to attend!" But despite all this, the truth is that not only have PTA's continued to grow in numbers and influence; they are no longer purely mothers' organizations. Today's typical PTA meeting draws almost as many fathers as mothers; no longer are the meetings afternoon teas, but are evening sessions, held monthly, at which speakers, panel discussions, films, and other educational programs are presented. The participation of teachers, particularly at the elementary school level, is an expected part of their professional load. Few elementary school teachers express reluctance to participate, primarily because the PTA meetings give them a

chance to meet the parents of their students, to chat informally with them, thus providing mutual support for the educational task. At these meetings, too, parents can tell teachers how much they are appreciated—and this is a most satisfying psychological reward.

Reporting student progress is one of the formal ways in which the school makes contact with the parent. How and when these reports shall be made is a question of great significance in many communities. There are in any one year a large number of communities involved in debate over school reporting practices. Elementary schools during the past several decades have introduced such things as the narrative report card, in which the teacher writes a note to the parents telling about the child's progress; a parent-teacher conference at stated intervals, when the parents must come to school for an interview about their child; and evaluations which indicate satisfactory or unsatisfactory progress rather than a letter or percentage grade. These innovations are often objects of community criticism or community approval. What should constitute an adequate report from school to parent is subject to continued reappraisal.

Contact between parents and elementary school teachers is encouraged by other means. In many schools, as has been pointed out, parents are called in for a conference at least once a year on the progress of their child. Sometimes the teacher makes a home visit to each child's home. The PTA sponsors "room mothers," volunteers who help out on such special occasions as Thanksgiving, Open House Night, Public School Week, Christmas, Valentine's Day, and so on.

The school fosters such close relationships because teachers are convinced that

parents who understand what the school is trying to do will support the school program and thus help their children learn. This conviction can be so strong that teachers literally avoid some schools because of the insistence by parents on certain approaches to teaching or on special consideration for their children. In fact, as a research study has found, teachers may prefer lower-class neighborhood schools, where parents treat the teacher with deference, to upper-middle-class schools where parents are always in and out of the school.¹⁰

Conflicts between parents and teachers do arise, as one can see from many news stories. When teachers are young and inexperienced, parents may often feel that they are not to be wholly trusted with their children. There is also often a distrust of innovations in teaching practices or programs.

The school, too, typically stands for middle-class values. The elementary school teacher instructs children in the importance of a "proper" diet and the need for personal cleanliness. Children are taught how and when to brush their teeth. They celebrate the standard American holidays in the standard American way. Values of cooperation, compliance, neatness, orderliness, good sportsmanship are stressed and rewarded. This is the way parents want it, and since teachers, too, are predominantly middle-class-oriented, they also see this as the "right" approach. But for the children who come from homes and neighborhoods that are not so oriented such a school and such attitudes and values are at best confusing and at worst can be damaging. Our

George, from Chapter 6, may find very soon after entering school that he is "different," that somehow he doesn't talk right, act right, or dress right. So he may react in many ways, but most likely he will learn it is best not to talk any more than necessary, not to participate in class activities unless he is forced to do so: in this way the differences can be more easily hidden. It is thus that the Georges may become labeled as "slow learners" or as "noncooperative." There is much that we need to learn about providing appropriate educational programs for the children from the subcultures. Increasing interest in this kind of research is indicated by special experimental programs being set up in many of our large industrial and older cities such as Chicago, Detroit, St. Louis, and New York.

THE INTERNAL ORGANIZATION OF THE SCHOOL

The many changes that have occurred in American society are reflected by demands to change teaching approaches. Possibly, as you read the description of Miss Freeland's day in the first grade, it evoked memories of similar days in your own elementary school years. In some ways the school appears to have changed relatively little. The outward look of the school is more pleasing; and there is a much greater appreciation of color and beauty in the school surroundings. There is a greater variety of materials of instruction.

There are, however, variations in practice regarding how best to organize the instructional program and procedures in the elementary school. The use of one practice as opposed to another often

¹⁰ Howard S. Becker, "The Teacher in the Authority System of the Public School," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 27:128-141 (November 1953).

constitutes a basic and controversial issue for both educators and parents.

One of these issues concerns the manner in which the school day will be planned or scheduled. Probably the major area of change and discussion is in that of what is taught. This we shall discuss in detail in Chapter 10. There are also some highly significant issues in the area of school organization that will certainly affect the kind of teaching situation one may find and the kind of approach to teaching that one might take.

Typically the elementary school teacher instructs the children in what is called a "self-contained" classroom. Here all the materials and supplies for every subject taught are to be found. One corner is a science area; another corner is for reading; social studies take up a large bulletin board and storage area. Bats and balls for the playground are stored in a closet. Easels and paints are found in one part of the room, where there is often a piano. Thus the teacher has at hand all he needs for instruction in all the elementary school subjects.

Yet many elementary school teachers are not fully competent in every subject. Increasingly, "helping" teachers enter the classroom to give special instruction in a special field, such as art, music, or science. Sometimes this helping teacher works primarily with the teachers, giving them instruction in the area to increase their competence. In some schools, helping teachers do not come into the self-contained classroom; instead, the children are moved to another room for special instruction. The "departmentalized" elementary school begins, in some aspects, to look like the high school or the junior high, with children moving from room to room during the day for specialized instruction.

Such a trend is being fostered in some areas by having elementary school teachers specialize in one subject area in their preservice education, much as secondary school teachers do. Thus the elementary school will be staffed not by generalists, who can teach most subjects, but by specialists in reading, science, art, arithmetic, and so forth.

Proponents and opponents of the departmentalized elementary school are vigorous in the positions they take. The advantages of specialist teachers are obvious. But such a system may fail to provide needed support for young children by the continued relationship with an understanding teacher. The specialist, meeting a number of groups of children a day, cannot provide individual attention. The children may become mechanical receivers of information. The impact of many teachers, as against one or two, upon the elementary school child is something we still know very little about. Children may learn more subject matter—at the cost of being insecure, anxious, and superficial in their attainments. Finding a way to meet both the educational and the psychological needs of children requires thoughtful study and experience.

A second issue centers around the way in which class groups shall be organized. The impact of the organizational pattern on children is something we know relatively little about. For instance, the move from the one-teacher, many-graded school to the multiple teacher and many grades might contribute to the conforming character of many individuals. In the one-room school:

Children learned to get along as best they could in this extended family situation in which they were thrust willy-nilly into partnership with all ages. Today's larger school provides a different kind of social

setting for the growing child wherein he constantly compares himself with his peers and his peers alone. One may ask, seriously, if some of our excessive, almost compulsive, need to conform to our colleagues and our social group may not arise from these early homogeneous groups in which the child was denied the larger vision of how people immediately older and younger did things? Thus he is denied models to strive to emulate and inferiors to protect and excel. All he can do is seek strenuously to keep up with the little Joneses who sit around him—same age, same range of problems, same range of experiences.¹¹

The problem of the graded school has nagged administrators since this device was first invented in order to deal with masses of children. The history of the graded school may be found in Chapter 12. The age-grade sequence has not as yet been able to deal successfully with the problems presented by the fact that children differ. Two solutions are now being studied and tried in many elementary schools. One solution is to develop groups of children on a *nongraded* basis. That is, entering first-graders are tested and studied and sorted into groups of somewhat comparable potential for school tasks. A teacher will stay with a group of children for two, three, or four years, depending on how long it takes the majority of children in the group to progress through a series of learning tasks outlined as minimal for primary-grade children. A fast group may progress through the sequence in two years. A young, immature, more slowly developing group may take four years to learn the same skills and understandings. A

child who was a slow starter but picked up learning quickly after a year or so might be transferred from one group to another so that he can work at the speed best suited to his ability. At some point the children are transferred into a second major block, corresponding to the intermediate grades. Here again they progress at their own rate in classroom groups, some taking fewer years than others to accomplish the same learning goals. For some students goals may be increased, so that they can study material in depth, or a wider range of subjects. For students with real difficulty in learning the basic skills, the curriculum can be concentrated on helping them gain competence in these vital areas. Readiness for promotion to junior high can then be based not just on chronological age, but on achievement of some specified levels of growth and learning.

Proponents of this approach—and there are many variations to it—stress in particular the damaging effects of failure on the child. Research is cited, too, to show that nonpromotion that forces a child to repeat what he has already not learned does not seem to result in such learning.¹² Opposition to this change comes from those who feel that the plan is too untried to displace the traditional system, that nonpromotion and failure may motivate some students to try harder, that removing fear of failure is unrealistic. A comparison of a nongraded and a graded school showed that gains were not such as to give the nongraded situation a clear superiority.¹³ Another evaluation of the

¹¹ Jean D. Grambs and D. W. Hunnicutt, "Trends in the Organization of the Elementary School: Sociological Aspects," *A Vision for Elementary School Administrators*. Twenty-fourth Yearbook, California Elementary School Administrators' Association, 1952, p. 18.

¹² John I. Goodlad and Robert H. Anderson, *The Nongraded Elementary School* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1959).

¹³ Robert F. Carbone, "A Comparison of Graded and Non-graded Elementary Schools,"

most recent experiments with nongraded programs concludes, however, with this statement:

A look into the future might hopefully reveal innumerable varieties and types of individualized, self-paced patterns of instruction, each developed as a result of thoughtful planning and continuous evaluation in relation to the unique needs of students and community. . . .

The nongraded pattern of organization, together with the body of philosophical and psychological principles which give it meaning, has the opportunity for profoundly influencing the pattern and organization of elementary education in America and possibly secondary and higher education as well. . . .¹⁴

The secondary schools, which have long complained about the variations in skill learning of those who come from elementary schools, might look with real interest at this proposal for removing the age-grade criterion for advancement in school. Perhaps at no time will all variations in accomplishment be eliminated, but it is hoped that these might be reduced to a manageable range.

A second approach to the problem of individual differences is to establish a differential basis upon which children may be grouped in classrooms, whether in a graded or a nongraded situation. Efforts in many schools are being made to achieve some kind of homogeneity of grouping so that the teacher works with children who are within a similar range in terms of learning ability. The complaint for generations is that no teacher can satisfactorily teach a class in which the range of IQ's may be from 60 to 160.

Elementary School Journal, 62:82-87 (November 1961).

¹⁴ Hugh Perkins, "Nongraded Programs: What Progress?" *Educational Leadership*, 19:166-169 (December 1961).

Thus many elementary schools are moving toward more homogeneity in class groups. There is an almost continual debate surrounding the handling of this problem. Proponents of homogeneous grouping maintain that it is unfair to the bright child to keep him at the pace of his slower classmates. Similarly, it is unfair continually to expose slower students to failure merely because they cannot do as well as other students.

Those who question homogeneous grouping point out that any measure of individuals will find that they vary widely on almost anything. Ability is only one of the factors leading to success in school. Interest, motivation, cultural background, previous school experiences—all of these are factors, and they are ones in which children vary as widely as they do in ability. Also, say some critics, measures of ability, particularly of elementary school children, are open to question as to both reliability and validity. Furthermore, to sort children at a very young age, to label some "fast" and some "slow," may do irreparable damage to those labeled "slow" without necessarily benefiting the "fast." Moreover, children are rather quick to sense the differences among classroom groups: they do talk to each other and compare notes about what is going on. How, therefore, the elementary school is going to meet the problem of variety in individual aptitudes and abilities is still a point of considerable controversy. There are numerous local experiments underway to test out a variety of approaches. There may well be some in your area which can be studied at firsthand.

Within the school organization itself some new patterns are emerging. Teachers, for instance, are finding more and more opportunity to work as teacher

teams. This may or may not be one by-product of the departmentalization trend noted above.¹⁵ There is an increase in interest shown in newer instructional aids, such as teaching machines. These devices permit somewhat more flexibility for student progress, though the relation of student to machine is still a debatable point.

The addition of more school specialists to the elementary school staff promises to change some of the organizational patterns of the school, too. Counselors, for instance, are now being found in larger elementary schools. More clerks and teachers' aids are promised. Supervision in the elementary school is being increasingly divorced from evaluation of teachers and administration, so that the focus can be upon the improvement of instruction. Principals are continually seeking more effective ways of helping school staff members make sound educational decisions.

What is democracy in an elementary school? How can teachers and other professional workers plan together for the total school environment of children? What are the limits of administrative authority? These questions, although still unsolved, point the direction in which elementary school structure of the future may go.

SUMMARY

The elementary school is a complex, interesting, changing institution. The people who make up the elementary school population, adults and children, are part of a social network. Within this

context they evolve their own ways of doing things. For the teacher, the role taken by the principal in establishing a particular atmosphere in his school is of paramount importance. The teacher also finds his place among a faculty group among whom will be many differences in age, attitudes, and competencies.

Today's elementary school is undergoing many changes in organization and structure. There is continual debate regarding new organizational patterns. Certainly, in the visible future the elementary school probably will undergo some important changes, and teachers entering the profession in the next few years will have a large part in helping determine the direction and kind of change.

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8

The Culture of the School: Secondary

What does it mean to enter a junior or senior high school for the first time? These can be moments of high drama. Here is the beginning of something quite new, quite important, and full of unknowns.

By the time the student reaches high school he has become pretty well accustomed to the educational process. He has learned a great deal about teachers. He is used to being graded, tested, exhorted, disciplined, inspired. School does not surprise him. School fits into the routine of daily life, of growing up. He has well-developed attitudes toward himself as a pupil, toward teachers, and toward school tasks.

The high school is very different from the familiar elementary school. Despite a great deal of earlier success, the entering student would hardly be human if he were not a little afraid of the new expectations and new demands and fearful that

leaving the security of the elementary school will expose him to requirements he may not be able to meet.

If the adolescent has *not* been successful in his elementary schooling, if he has met failure in classroom and schoolyard, if he distrusts his own intellectual and social competence, the junior or senior high school may loom as a place where failures will be more drastic and humiliations more defeating. Or the youngster may view going to the junior or senior high school as a chance for release. Here he may have a chance on the team where his physical prowess will be esteemed, or a science teacher may welcome his interest in short-wave radio. Perhaps in the new environment his previous failures will not rise up to plague him; he can make a new start, acquire a new personality, make new friends, find new avenues of success.

SECONDARY SCHOOLS ARE DIFFERENT

The secondary school establishes a different environment from that met by the student in the elementary school. Although this is obvious, we typically overlook it. The secondary school is different because:

The student body is made up of emerging adolescents, either just entering puberty or completing their physiological development into young adults.

The teachers have been prepared specifically to teach separate subjects.

The school day is organized, in most instances, into periods in which subjects are taught separately, each by a different teacher.

There are many extracurricular activities sponsored by the school: clubs,

dances, intramural, and sometimes interscholastic, athletics.

Major career decisions may be made by the student during the secondary school years.

Compulsory school attendance usually ends a year or so prior to the official termination of secondary education.

The secondary school as a whole is larger, drawing upon several neighborhoods, and thus is apt to be less homogeneous in the socioeconomic background of students.

The student, then, is entering an educational world which is likely to be quite different from the one he was part of during the elementary school years. As a matter of fact, there are three major stages in the average child's school experience: elementary school, junior high school, and senior high school. In terms of the total institution, each segment is part of an educational hierarchy.

THE JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL: A TRANSITIONAL EXPERIENCE

Today the junior high school is viewed as a period of transition. The three years of the typical junior high school are those in which the young person approaches physical maturity. He goes through the dramatic growth changes that differentiate the immature from the mature physical being. It is also a period of intellectual growth. For these reasons, educators have been studying the junior high school over the decades in an attempt to develop an institution which will help the young person through these years and make him better able to deal with later personal, social and educational tasks.

The junior high school, as an institu-

tion, is firmly entrenched in the total school system. For students the greater freedom of the junior high school is usually welcomed. They find themselves moving to different rooms for classes. In a sense they are less regimented, less under the continuous care of a teacher. On the other hand courses are more formal, and individual expectations are increased. At the same time, the student is not completely thrown on his own. The typical junior high school will have at least part of its daily schedule "blocked." This means that thirty or so seventh-graders, often divided on the basis of achievement or intelligence test scores, attend most of their classes with the same classmates, even though they change teacher and classroom for each subject. Similarly, many junior high schools also have "block-of-time" scheduling, which means that for seventh and eighth grades several periods will be held in the same room with the same teacher for two or more subjects. This block-of-time scheduling may also mean that the teacher will fuse or integrate the subjects within the time available. This integration of subject matter is often referred to as core teaching, unified studies, or by some other special term, and is usually a combination of English and social studies. Even where subject matter is not integrated, however, a single teacher may stay with the same students for more than one hour. These devices are designed to provide more security and support for the youngster. Although he may see five different teachers each day, because he is with the same group of peers the demands on his adjustment are reduced.

Another way in which the junior high school provides for transition between elementary and senior high school is by the number and type of required courses as

compared with the number and type offered as electives. Typically the student has little if any choice in the seventh grade. Often girls are given home economics instruction; boys, industrial arts experiences. Also, both art and music are sometimes required of all students and taught in a way to arouse student interest in these areas. The emphasis is on "exploration" rather than on intensive skill development. Although students of talent may be further developed, the major aim of the art and music instruction is to help all young people realize the personal value of these cultural activities.

In the eighth grade the students may again be scheduled by whole sections, moving from one required subject to another as a total class. Electives may be offered, allowing students now to choose art *or* music. Some schools offer as electives eighth-grade algebra and beginning foreign language courses to particularly able students. Both home economics and industrial arts are apt to be required again in the eighth grade. Toward the end of the eighth grade the student must make a very important choice. The ninth grade marks the beginning of high school, even though the ninth grade is officially in the junior high school. The significant fact is that the full four-year transcript goes to the college of the student's choice and thus often becomes part of the basis upon which he is or is not admitted. In the eighth grade, then, the student must usually decide between the college preparatory curriculum or the general curriculum. Although this decision is not irreversible, it is nevertheless difficult for a youngster who once decides *not* to take the college preparatory course to switch over later and make up the missing required subjects.

Thus in the ninth grade we have a di-

vision of students in the junior high school. Usually counselors consult with the student and, if there is a question, with his parents. Test results are important in helping the student to decide which curriculum to choose. The more able students may already have been guided into the eighth-grade algebra or a foreign language. In the ninth grade the able students are urged to take the college preparatory program.

The major difference between the general and college preparatory curriculums lies in the science, mathematics, and language courses offered. The general student will continue with general mathematics, whereas the college preparatory student will take algebra or even second-year mathematics. The college preparatory student will be starting or continuing a foreign language, and he will take a general science course. The general curriculum student may take music, art, industrial arts, or home economics.

The junior high school provides an extracurricular program, though it may not be as extensive as that of the senior high school. Often there is a school band or orchestra. Some schools have well-developed intramural athletic programs, and in a growing number of places there are interscholastic sports events. Generally, however, junior high schools have tried very hard to avoid interschool athletic competition. Research is inconclusive concerning the effects of the pressures and strain of interschool competitive sports on junior high school boys. However, respectable medical and psychological opinion, as well as some evidence, indicates that the senior high school is probably early enough for this type of competition.

These brief descriptions of the typical junior high school program are presented

primarily to show how the educational function, practices, and organization are quite different from the elementary school. They are so different that they create a different kind of environment, provide for the gradual assumption by the student of greater responsibility for self-direction in study, and even open doors to new kinds of social experiences.

The self-contained classroom of the elementary school limits the environmental stimulation for the child: it protects him. The structure, schedules, classes, and new pressures of the junior high school are adjustments the school makes in response to the dynamics of human development. The point is clearer if one reflects for a moment on the inappropriateness of continuing the self-contained classroom, the one-teacher, all-day situation, and the limited social associations of the elementary school on up through high school. Even if teachers could be prepared to teach all subjects on the high school level, the developmental needs of adolescence obviously demand different arrangements in terms of time, space, activities, options, and opportunities.

THE SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL

One immediately noticeable difference between the junior and the senior high school is size. The junior high school usually enrolls from 700 to 900 students. The senior high school is likely to be larger. City and suburban senior high schools tend to be larger than rural or small-town schools. It is of interest to note that, despite the growth of junior high schools, the junior and senior divisions are not always housed in separate buildings. As a matter of interesting fact,

in 1959, 32 percent of the secondary schools were combined junior-senior high schools, enrolling $3\frac{1}{2}$ million students. Twenty-five percent of all secondary school students were in separate three-year junior high schools, and only 15 percent were in three-year senior high schools.

Statistics on size are apt to be misleading, however. For instance, in 1939 more than two thirds of the secondary schools of the United States had enrollments under 200, but in 1959 this had decreased so that less than 40 percent had such small enrollments.¹ The question, of course, is what percentage of pupils were in such small schools. Using Conant's criterion of a minimum graduating class of 100, approximately 32 percent of all students were in such schools; most students are in high schools of 1000 or over. Very large schools—over 2500—are relatively rare; and there are distinct disadvantages to the few schools that reach an enrollment of 5000. But even with a small enrollment, the senior high school is still going to be larger than the elementary school or the junior high school and will provide the student with a different type of educational experience, organized in a different fashion.²

The senior high school, whether housed with a junior high school or on its own, is a different institution. The students expect it to be so, and so does everyone else. The senior high school is designed to be the end of formal education for many students. Thus it provides the general knowledge and skills needed by an effec-

¹ David B. Austin, *et al.*, *American High School Administration* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1962), p. 77.

² James B. Conant, *The American High School Today* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1958).

tive adult citizen. It will offer, if it can, vocational courses leading to jobs immediately after graduation. It will also take care of those students who will go on to college. This latter group, though a minority in terms of national statistics (approximately one third) may in some schools be considerably larger in number than the vocational group. Some suburban and academic city high schools send 75 to 80 percent of their student body on to some kind of higher education.

The high school is thus designed to do something for everyone. All kinds of students come to school, and all of their varied educational needs must be met. To perform this herculean task, the American secondary school has developed some distinctive characteristics. First, we find the curriculum divided into major course sequences. That is, when they transfer from junior high to senior high school, students indicate which program they wish to follow: vocational, commercial, general, or college preparatory. The student will then, depending upon the size of the school, take a program of required subjects, which may also be divided according to the major curriculum of the student. For example, vocational boys will take vocational English and vocational mathematics. There may be special sections of English and mathematics for those in the commercial course. Most high schools mix the students in the various curriculums when they are assigned their required subjects; in recent years, however, there has been a strong movement to establish separate college preparatory and academically talented classes in both required and elective subjects.

The required subjects vary from state to state, but in general they include three to four years of English, one to two years of social studies, including United States

history, one year of science, and one year of mathematics. Physical education may also be required for from two to four years.

The school day is usually divided into hour periods, which may vary in length from forty-five to sixty minutes. Two to five minutes are allowed for passing from class to class, and about twenty-five minutes are allowed for lunch. Although a study period may still be found in some high schools, most schools schedule classes for each period. Activities, such as clubs or athletic events, may be held after school closes, but in rural or suburban areas, where most of the students come by bus, the activities are usually scheduled during the school day. Some schools handle this by having a special activities period one day a week for clubs and student council groups. Athletic events are scheduled during the school day, with some period dropped in order that students may attend. Many large high schools have two- or three-bell schedules to provide for these school activities. For example, all periods may be shortened to make the time for a school assembly or an athletic game. Sometimes the periods are shortened by only a few minutes; at others they may be reduced considerably; or periods may be scrambled so that an assembly and an athletic event does not always come during the same period.

These kinds of administrative arrangements are designed to provide for the many different student interests and needs found in a modern high school. In recent years there has been criticism that in some schools such activities tend to dominate the school program. Teachers feel that a scrambled schedule is upsetting—unless, of course, their own activity is the reason for the upset. Balancing the various functions and purposes of today's

complex secondary school is not an easy task.

Here, in rather brief fashion, are the major organizational characteristics of today's secondary school. What does this special institution mean in the lives of young people? What problems arise because of the nature of this institution and its population, given the cultural climate of our world today? What is the role of the teacher? What organizational changes are currently taking place? These are important questions for future teachers.

PERSONAL VERSUS INSTITUTIONAL VALUES IN THE SECONDARY SCHOOL

Well, curriculum is curriculum. We have it for twelve years. We haven't mentioned it to you because we wanted to tell you first about the things that really matter.³

The high school student quoted by Mallery provides us with an acute summary of the way high school appears to a great many adolescents. The program of studies may seem unreal and unrelated to what is of major significance to the young person.

The adolescent is primarily concerned with his relations to his peers, to the opposite sex, to his family, and to authority systems. He is engaged in the pursuit of his own identity and his own value system. The big questions of human existence—what is life, what is death, what can I believe, what is true—are of pressing concern to most adolescents, no matter what their intellectual level or cultural background.

Teachers, however, are intent on inducting youth into the higher mysteries

of calculus, the drama of Shakespeare's plays, or the political maneuverings of Andrew Jackson. The result is often overt conflict and rebellion or covert resentment and apathy.

Previous to the depression of the 1930's the demarcation between adult and adolescent values was not noticeable. Adolescence, as a distinct growth period, was not generally recognized except in the literature of psychology. Of course, a young man had to "sow his wild oats," but he was expected to settle down to the tasks of earning a living in much the same manner and following the same social code as his father and grandfather.

It is clear that today's adolescent is a different creature. His desire for emancipation from home is one of his significant developmental needs. His goals in life will not be determined by what his parents did, but rather what he wishes and where he identifies his own talents.

Parents as arbiters of what is right and wrong are replaced by the peer group—the gang or the clique. The conformity needs—to do what everyone else does—have all been described and deplored as characteristics of today's adolescent. What his peers say of him is more important than almost anything his parents or other adults can say. It is likely that this significant phase of strong identification with the peer group is normal. The young person must feel that he is accepted by his peers before he can move on to the further development of himself as a unique individual. The peer group serves as a sounding board, a secure social climate where the adolescent tries out ideas and dares to be different—even deviant—as a member of a group. He can reinforce his courage to react to adult domination by collective action with others. Once he feels a part of this, he

³ David Mallery, *High School Students Speak Out* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), p. 17.

seems better able to react, in turn, to the domination of his peer group and become more truly a self-directing individual.

Now transplant all these millions of adolescents into an institution. Place with them adults identified as members of the parent generation. What we find is almost inevitable, given the social world of today. The values held by the adults in the school and those which govern the behavior of the youth in the same school help support the values dear to the adolescent and provide a safe haven for him to work out and gain understanding of himself as a growing person with significant personal-social concerns.

Extracurricular activities, for instance, provide him with an avenue by which he may achieve acceptance. Coleman, in a discerning study of the culture of the adolescent in school, found that major values for boys center around achievement in athletics. Such achievement, no matter in what kind of secondary school, prompts acceptance by both boys and girls. He points out that the valuation of the well-rounded individual results in high status for boys who are perceived to be both athletes and scholars. However, boys who are known only for their athletic ability fare far better in terms of peer approval than boys who are known only for their scholarly ability.

Among girls, the achievement variable centers around nice clothes, appearance, and manner. Coleman comments:

It is commonly assumed, both by educators and by laymen, that it is "better" for boys and girls to be in school together during adolescence, if not better for their academic performance, then at least better for their social development and adjustment. But this may not be so; it may depend wholly upon the kinds of activities in which their association takes place. Co-education

in some schools may be inimical to *both* academic achievement *and* social adjustment. The dichotomy often forced between "life-adjustment" and "academic emphasis" is a false one, for it forgets that most of the teen-ager's energy is not directed toward either of these goals. Instead, the relevant dichotomy is cars and the cruel jungle of rating and dating versus school activities, whether of the academic or life-adjustment variety.

But perhaps, at least for girls, this is where the emphasis *should* be: on making themselves into desirable objects for boys. . . . No one can say whether girls should be trained to be wives, citizens, mothers or career women. Yet in none of these areas of adult life are physical beauty, an enticing manner, and nice clothes as important for performing successfully as they are in high school.⁴

The dating-rating complex, which takes up so much of the energies of the young, is immeasurably aided, as far as boys are concerned, by access to a car. This is particularly true in the large suburban and unified rural high schools. Here the young come from widely scattered areas. Yet dating does not occur on neighborhood lines. For a boy to have any kind of freedom of choice for a date, as well as freedom of movement, he either has to have a car or have ready access to one. The girl who becomes interested in a boy who cannot commandeer a car dooms herself to dateless weekends.

The car has changed the social life of the adolescent just as the large high school has provided him with a far wider range of friendship and dating choices.

It is no accident, of course, that athletics, attractiveness of manner and appearance, and access to a car are major adolescent values. They merely reflect the

⁴ James S. Coleman, *The Adolescent Society* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), pp. 51-52.

developmental stage of these young people. One of their major tasks during these years is finding out whether or not they are attractive to the opposite sex and whether or not they can view themselves with approval. To achieve success in athletics gives the boy a profound feeling of self-worth; to be attractive in appearance and well dressed does the same for the girls.

Unfortunately, all boys are not athletically endowed, nor are all the girls beauties. Yet even for these, the school is a major social reality. The secondary school has taken the place of the neighborhood as the focus of social interest and interaction, although the students must pay the price of studying in order to participate in the activities that are more significant in their lives.

The value system of the secondary school reflects only in part the values that parents hold for their young people. Coleman notes that in one suburban high school, where all the young people professed themselves to be college-bound, academic success was not highly valued; it was taken for granted that one tried to get good grades, but the intellectual was considered a "square."

The seriousness with which youth pursue these personal-social goals is apparent to teachers and administrators in the school. While the school holds up academic success as a paramount value, the students value social success. Coleman's study found, for instance, that the brightest girls were smart enough *not* to make the honor role.⁵

It should be emphasized, however, that the vast majority of adolescents are able to experience these typical developmental phenomena of their age level and still

sense the importance of the more serious and adult-centered aspects of the school program. As human beings mature, their ability to function in terms of postponed or future goals increases. Thus adolescents generally seem able to survive the anxieties and pressures growing out of their intensified resistance to adult domination. Furthermore, even as they engage in frivolities and inconsequential activities (according to adult opinion), they find time for study and cultural pursuits. In general, the various national testing services have found improvement in the past few years in the overall quality of high school students listed in terms of academic preparation.

Another characteristic of the high school population is the omnipresent specter of sex. In his studies of teachers' anxieties, Jersild identifies the area of sex as a key one. On the basis of responses from many teachers Jersild points out that sex remains a problem of real concern, partly because teachers as individuals have not worked out their own feelings on the subject and partly because the taboos surrounding sex prevent rational discussion of the subject at almost any level.⁶ Prospective secondary school teachers will find it very helpful to think through and frankly discuss their feelings in this area. To be angry because boys and girls want to meet in high school is to be unrealistic.

There are times when the values held by school personnel and those significant to teen-agers come into direct conflict. We note this very often when it comes to what is considered appropriate dress. One high school, for instance, forbade

⁶ Arthur Jersild, *When Teachers Face Themselves* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1955).

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 255.

boys to come to school unless they wore belts on their pants, the current teen fad notwithstanding. Another school refused to let youngsters attend who wore extreme and, to the adult eye, bizarre hair-dos. Girls whose skirts were too tight and too short or whose blouses were too flimsy were sent home by some administrators. Yet the peer group approved such dress and appearance. Is it the function of the school to act in these areas? What do dress and appearance mean to adolescents? Who should decide what is "proper"?

Another area of culture conflict between the adults in the school and the adolescents is in the matter of grades. Grades signify academic achievement. The school says it rates such achievement very highly. The peer group may not reward the high achiever with high approval. He, or she, may be regarded as a "grind" or, even worse, as an "apple polisher." With today's emphasis on getting into college, the student who gets good grades is becoming increasingly acceptable. But a careful distinction is still sometimes drawn by the peer group: the student can get good grades and still be accepted as long as he does not show a real interest in the subjects or a genuine interest in intellectual activities. He should get good grades by working hard—but not too hard. This becomes highly frustrating to teachers, who hope to inspire in students a genuine interest in their courses.

Can you identify any other areas of value conflict? Perhaps by recalling some of your own secondary school experiences you can see that what seemed to be a matter of personal differences between students and teachers might have been a symptom of value conflict.

Each social group develops a value sys-

tem which has a major influence on the behavior of some and less on others. Within most schools you will probably find several value orientations. Cohen, in discussing the culture of the delinquent gang, suggests that there is a middle-class norm which effectively operates for those young people, particularly boys, who are from middle and upper socioeconomic groups. Lower-class boys, who cannot attain middle-class goals because of family failures and cultural deprivations of various sorts, develop another norm, which Cohen calls the delinquent subculture. Here different values are stressed, and the peer group rewards with approval and acceptance those behaviors which are antithetical to behaviors displayed by middle-class boys and teachers.⁷

While conflict in values appears in many school situations, it is not inevitable. It occurs because we have not been sufficiently aware of the existence of such a social phenomenon. It is important that we identify and pay attention to such conflict when it exists, since it produces tensions, interferes with the fundamental task of the school, and, as Coleman points out, may actually lead to severe personal dislocation on the part of youth.⁸

It is possible, as Mallery's study revealed, for individual teachers and schools to transcend the value conflict. As one student said:

I always used to think of school as a mechanical duty. You get up, get in the bus, go to classes—all by the clock. Then I saw that there were some teachers who really did have a personal interest in the students. This really hit me hard.

Another student:

⁷ Albert K. Cohen, *Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1955).

⁸ James S. Coleman, *op. cit.*, pp. 222-243.

You know, in physics last week, it was really great. We got into a discussion of something, and we suddenly realized that there was no answer to the question we were talking about. We went on and talked about *possibilities*, about things we couldn't know yet, on the basis of the information we had now—and about things we needed to explore this century. And it was exciting to see that the teacher didn't know the answer—that he was talking about possibilities about unknown regions, *with us!*⁹

From the reports of many students we can conclude that the individual teacher has a great deal to do with whether the students' values and the school's values are effectively joined in common enterprises.

From this discussion of the value conflict existing in many schools between the adolescent culture and that of the school authorities one should not conclude that life in secondary schools is fraught with trouble. This is far from so. As was mentioned, most young people perform school tasks adequately, and many respond with eagerness and enthusiasm. A few, often those Cohen would identify as having accepted the gang norm of behavior, actively rebel and cause trouble and concern. But, again, these are in the minority of students. What is troubling is that so few students do rebel for the right reasons, when faced with dull, boring, or mediocre, irrelevant instruction, and that so many do their tasks at the minimal level of involvement. Our students are basically interested, alert, and vital young people. The current secondary school problem is to capture this vitality for the performance of school tasks, and in terms of values of deeper social significance. Hundreds of examples abound of imaginative teachers who have challenged youth of all kinds and thereby

enriched and reinforced their collective educational experiences. A senior high school English teacher uses *Macbeth* as a springboard for the analysis of contemporary drama and fiction in which the theme of a woman corrupting a man is used, and from this, identifies other recurring themes in drama and literature. A biology teacher seizes upon a local deer starvation problem to create tremendous interest in a study of ecological factors in biology and their implications for game management, agriculture, forestry, and, ultimately, human living. A political science teacher exploits a current presidential election campaign to develop an intense interest in campaign tactics and techniques.

CONTROLLING THE INFORMAL SOCIAL SYSTEM OF THE SCHOOL

In order that the conflict between adolescent subculture and adult culture is kept from erupting, the school develops many means of social control. The formal means are the rules, regulations, and legal requirements which establish the school as a function of orderly social organization. Students are *required* to go to school a certain number of hours for a certain number of days for a certain number of years. Within the school the teacher and principal have certain rights over the behavior of the youngsters. The secondary school, in order to be sure the right people are in the right place at the right time, develops many rules to control behavior, particularly student behavior. Students may not be out of a room without a pass. Bells ring to mark the opening and closing of each class period. Monitors are stationed in halls and at doorways to see

⁹ Mallery, *op. cit.*, pp. 50, 19.

that proper hall conduct is maintained and that unauthorized people do not leave or enter the building. What rules governed your behavior in the high school you went to? Do you remember any which displeased you? If you broke a rule, what happened?

According to Friedenberg, this kind of formal structure and its many rules and regulations are particularly difficult for boys to deal with.¹⁰ Statistics of students in trouble with teachers, administrators, or guidance personnel, or who have been in court or referred to social agencies, show that boys outnumber girls by a large percentage.

Does this mean that boys are simply inherently "worse" than girls? Does it mean that the values and rules of the school may be slanted a little in favor of girls? Probably a little of both is involved. Boys, because they are males, are more aggressive, more apt to rebel in less subtle ways than girls. As has been noted before, they may be less mature, age for age, than girls. Furthermore, the adult value system of the school has been influenced and shaped significantly by women. Girls show less willingness to rebel openly, although the subtle techniques they may devise to humiliate a teacher or express their own frustration may be just as effective as the methods used by boys. Observations of high school students also show that girls may encourage boys in resistant behavior—or at least boys think they are being encouraged.

The school, through various devices, attempts to control its informal social system by utilizing those values inherent in youth culture and providing suitable

rewards and recognitions. The rewards of the secondary school, in terms of grades and leadership positions, are typically associated with the socioeconomic level of the adolescent. In Hollingshead's famous study of Elmtown, this association was graphically portrayed. The higher the student's social standing in his community, the more likely he was to get good grades and be elected or appointed to school office. Youths from lower socioeconomic levels received the greatest proportion of low grades and failing grades.¹¹

The socioeconomic level of the student is significant because there are distinct values associated with different class levels in American culture. The public school at any level, as we have already pointed out, is primarily middle class in orientation. This means that the goals and motivations of middle-class parents will be utilized by school personnel and that middle-class children will respond to these motivations. At the secondary school level, the middle-class adolescent has distinct advantages. He responds to the motivation for grades because he recognizes that through grades he can attain the next significant middle-class goal—college. The lower-class adolescent is not so motivated: his parents do not or cannot send him to college. Many parents in this socioeconomic bracket will actively discourage ambitions in that direction either because they resent college-educated persons or because they need the additional income brought in by the work of the younger members of the family. The deferred-reward system of the secondary school has little meaning for many

¹⁰ Edgar Z. Friedenberg, *The Vanishing Adolescent* (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1960), p. 93.

¹¹ August Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1949), p. 173.

lower-class young people who have lived too close to the edge of violence and hunger to be interested in the good things that may happen next year or three years hence—if they behave and strive for these goals today.¹²

The overwhelming significance of grades in the reward system of the secondary school becomes immediately apparent to the beginning student teacher. Many have reported their astonishment at discovering that so much of their time and energy has had to be devoted to evaluating and grading the performance of their students. One of the major tasks of the beginning secondary school teacher is to develop a consistent and fair system of grading. Studies to date do not reveal any one formula that answers this problem. So far we must admit that the grading system is not fair; it works against boys, against persons with limited socio-cultural backgrounds, and against individuals from minority groups.

Recent studies of creativity in relation to intelligence have raised questions in the minds of many as to whether our usual practice of assigning grades and grouping students by standard intelligence tests does really identify those with exceptional talent. School situations tend to be more comfortable for students who have high IQ's but are low in creativity. Teachers prefer these students. Their values are success-oriented. The students with a high creativity component may learn a great deal in school (though this may not be the kind of learning for which they get high grades). Or some may have IQ scores so low that they are called "overachievers," in terms of the school.

The more we know about the components of the learning process and the creative process, the more we begin to re-evaluate the kinds of teaching-learning situations we provide for young people in school.¹³

The rewards of the school are a means of social control. If you behave, says the institution, we will give you some overt marks of recognition. One of the most significant, other than grades, in the terms of the peer group is the chance to participate in varsity athletics and to earn an athletic "letter." In Elmtown, as Hollingshead pointed out, athletics was the only avenue available through which the lower-class student could attain social acceptance by the peer leadership elite.¹⁴ Even in this area, however, there are some significant limitations. A student may not participate in varsity sports in most schools unless his grade average is acceptable. This again works against the nonmotivated lower-class boy. In many schools, however, the athletic program has been the main reason why many potential dropouts have stayed in school. One might ponder the question as to what qualifications for athletic participation are fair and reasonable.

In response to the pressure for academic achievement, many schools have been working in recent years to raise the status level of those who are academically successful. In some schools they, too, receive a letter. In schools with chapters of the National Honor Society an impressive induction ceremony emphasizes to the whole school the value placed on this kind of achievement. One mother's de-

¹² Allison Davis, *Social Class Influences on Learning* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1948).

¹³ Jacob W. Getzels and Philip W. Jackson, *Creativity and Intelligence* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1962).

¹⁴ Hollingshead, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

scription of such an event reveals how a parent, in particular, would feel about it:

My daughter, in the eleventh grade, hoped desperately to be in the National Honor Society. But she was sure she would not make it. Not only were grades important, but service to the school and "character." I received a phone call one day from the school counselor, who pledged me to secrecy. My daughter had been elected to the Society by the teachers. However, it was to be kept from her. I, and my husband if possible, were to come to school about a half hour before the assembly period. We would be hidden in a room behind the stage. Then, after the student body assembled, each student selected would be announced. The student would come forward, and so would the parents, and walk to the front of the room for the induction ceremony. It was an exciting experience. We were bursting with pride and found it very hard to keep our secret. As the day approached our daughter became more and more sure that she had not been chosen. We gave her our fullest sympathy!

The assembly itself was impressive. As each person was named the several hundred students responded with approval or surprise. The principal made a speech emphasizing the value of the reward, but also the value of all the other students. Certainly those students present felt that it was a good thing to be academically successful!¹⁵

Are such recognitions of bright students justified? What about the less bright student who may have had to work much harder and for lower grades than the honor student? These are vexing questions. Your subsequent studies in teaching methods and educational philosophy may help you to formulate adequate answers for these kinds of problems.

Although grades are an omnipresent manifestation of the reward system and athletic positions are for the highly select

few, most contemporary high schools provide many other, if lesser, kinds of rewards. The current popularity of science fairs for junior and senior high school students indicates the value now being placed on such achievement. Such fairs are typically held first in an individual school and often include entries for both science and mathematics. The science fair is an occasion for the community to view the original experiments of young people. Winners then compete in county or district fairs and finally on the national level, with college scholarships as a prize. A visitor to such a fair is impressed by the variety and ingenuity of student interests. In some schools participation is required, and this tends to work against the individual student interest in the activity. In some places, where competition is keen, parents may be unduly involved in the projects, or some projects may be developed that were not contemplated by the sponsors. But on the whole, the influence of such fairs has been to increase the prestige of those who have a genuine as well as a creative interest in scientific inquiry. While the general public does not show as great an interest in science fairs as in interscholastic football or basketball, it is possible, as Coleman suggests, that the role of athletics in the value system can be rivaled by other disciplines and activities. The dynamics which have given athletics such a central role in the adolescent and school culture, namely, interschool rivalry, can be utilized in other spheres. Coleman suggests academic "fairs" in which school teams would compete in many areas.¹⁶ Other educators would view with skepticism any further involvement of competition as an incentive. Genuine interest is a far

¹⁵ A mother's unpublished account.

¹⁶ Coleman, *op. cit.*

more desirable reason for participation. The success of TV programs which send teams of bright students to compete against teams from other schools indicates that Coleman's suggestions might be worthy of rather serious considerations if we wish to affect the reward-value system of the adolescent and redirect it toward goals held desirable by the adult school community. On the other hand, the entertainment orientation that is now a major part of athletic games is unfortunate, say many critics. It is highly unlikely that teachers will view kindly the use of academic achievement as entertainment, especially when TV promoters seem to have the idea that academic achievement and sheer memorization—the more esoteric the better—are synonymous. Educators realize that the regurgitation of facts is not necessarily a demonstration of learning.

Another aspect of today's secondary school which rewards students is that of the many clubs and organizations with which they can affiliate. Some large high schools have nearly a hundred such organizations. These groups reflect the many interests of adolescents. Even the youngster most "out" of things can find a few fellow stamp collectors, star gazers, or radio hams to join in a school club. Even though there are so many clubs, some students are still not induced to join. The clubs cost some money for dues or equipment; in many instances, the members may become an exclusive in-group; or the home or work responsibilities of a given student leave him no free time. For at least half the student body, however, the high school provides many absorbing out-of-class interests that enrich total personal and social growth.

While observers may criticize the American high school for this prolifera-

tion of activities, these activities, as we noted, become part of the reward system of the school. They give the individual student *place*. That is, he finds a group in which he can feel at home with persons who accept him and his interests, and approve of what he finds valuable. This need for affiliation is strong in the human animal, and rarely stronger than in the hearts of adolescents. It has been stated that if it were not for these extracurricular activities the dropout rate from high school would be far higher than it is.

Teachers are involved in these activities, too. Typically the high school teacher becomes a sponsor for some activity in which he manifests an interest. One high school history teacher, for instance, coached the after-school wrestling team. A science teacher sponsored the photography club which made a movie of the school to orient incoming freshmen. The English teacher sponsored the school yearbook. The typing teacher was adviser to the Future Business Leaders of America. The home economics teacher had a group of Future Homemakers. The guidance counselor worked with the Student Council. The list is long. Teachers sometimes complain of these "extra" duties, yet it is through these activities that they may find some of the most significant rewards for themselves and students.

PARENTS, ADOLESCENTS, AND TEACHERS

We noted that the elementary school makes a strenuous effort to invoke the support of parents. At the secondary level, there is far less unanimity of opinion regarding how closely home and school might best work together.

The literature on adolescence today, particularly that found in the popular press, seems often to express irritation with young people. "Why are they so wild?" "Why don't they do as they are told?" "Why are they so fresh and rude?" These are some of the underlying questions in a number of commentaries about youth. The adult community tends to find young people puzzling and disturbing. Adolescents are in a period when they are continually questioning the authority of adults. This situation produces feelings of unease and unrest and a desire for some kind of retaliation. According to Friedenberg, lack of rebellion is more crucial than rebellion itself.¹⁷ This view is not acceptable to adults in general. Many parents find themselves helpless in the face of the adolescent refusal to obey, and so they demand that the school enforce obedience. Some teachers, also reacting to their own inability to enforce demands, become restrictive and authoritarian in their dealings with young people. The cries for greater discipline, more control, and harsher punishments are hard to resist.

Yet some argue that our most prized social values are perhaps to blame for the way in which many adolescents react. We approve of families in which children are treated with respect, where their wishes are listened to, and where family councils make many decisions. We tell young people to make up their own minds, to stand on their own feet, to be independent, and to show initiative. We want young people to have ambitions beyond that of their own parents, if necessary. These values, when acted out by adolescents, are then often hard to live with. But this view omits an impor-

tant consideration: mature people have learned to make decisions, to show initiative, and to be independent because they are able to function in a responsible, socially conscious manner. Wise parents have learned to start releasing the bonds early in childhood, one by one, as ability to function responsibly in area after area, task after task, becomes learned. This is probably the main reason why adulthood—the responsible management of one's own life—is achieved by some young people without any conscious rebellion or struggle.

Unfortunately the ability to relax the bonds over their children is not found in many parents. They often have other kinds of problems that affect their relationships with their children. For example, the mother and father are usually middle-aged. (The young age of marriage today and the appearance of children so soon after marriage will result in many thirty-five-year-old grandmothers, but our generalizations here will hold true for most parents for many years.) And middle age is often not a time of general self-satisfaction in our society. The man has found he has probably achieved all he can in his work, and this may be far short of his dream for himself in his youth; he must face the ceiling of his accomplishments. Also, he is more tired than he used to be. His wife, on looking in the mirror, is not reassured: there are lines in her face, her hair is getting gray, and her weight is evident in all the wrong places. Both parents, then, are facing a difficult life adjustment themselves just at the time when their child is moving into his greatest vigor and greatest challenge.

To the school the adolescent brings these and other kinds of home tensions. In high school he finds teachers who are

¹⁷ Friedenberg, *op. cit.*

often also growing into middle age. Whether they belong to it or not, they are identified with the parental generation and with its values and expectations. The school, however, tends to side in this instance with the adolescent, even though he may not know it. That is, many schools do not make strenuous efforts to involve parents in their on-going program as is done at the elementary level. Parents are, in fact, more apt to be dreaded than sought.

Why do secondary school teachers often prefer to avoid contacts with parents? The most obvious reason is that the high school teacher has too many students to know many of them individually. He can actually tell a given parent relatively little about Joe when he is one of 150 other students. This is very unlike the situation of the elementary school teacher, who can know her 30 to 35 students very well indeed. A second reason is that secondary school teachers are not trained to consider working with parents as an aspect of their professional role. The primary focus of the preparation of secondary school teachers is on subject matter. To some teachers it comes as a shock that they might also have to confer with parents. This is not because, given understanding, they might not welcome such conferences, but because dealing with parents as part of the teaching function has never occurred to the prospective teacher as a necessary part of his job.

A third reason why secondary school teachers tend to worry about contacts with parents is that more and more parents can meet them on their own ground, for many parents today have had as much if not more education than the teachers of their youngsters. Such parents can be—and often are—critical of

what the teacher is teaching or the approach he is taking. Lacking preparation for such a role, the teacher reacts with feelings of grave insecurity and resists programs which might bring parent and secondary school closer together.

The adolescents encourage this. For some of them, the less the home knows about their school activities and the less the school knows about their home activities, the happier they will be. The gulf between school and home widens during the adolescent years. We may question whether this is a wholly desirable state of affairs. It is probable that parent, teacher, and student should work closely together; where this has been tried successfully, the results indicated that it is well worthwhile. Anything that merely improves communication between school and home is to be encouraged.

TEACHERS AND STUDENTS

The most important thing around here is a teacher's personality—its interplay with ours—his ideas—the way he gets us to think—the way he shows his interest in us. . . .

Mr. Sullivan in music—there's a marvelous man. He teaches us about life. I've got a whole new set of standards for myself because of being in his choir!

Miss Mahony will stop and talk about things. Sometimes it's philosophical or it's about the way people behave. But it's interesting, you know what I mean. . . .

Miss Carlson could get you excited about the dullest subject!

I know a teacher who could take the best book ever written and kill it dead as a doornail in one class period!¹⁸

Students find teachers an endless and engrossing subject of conversation. Wherever teen-agers gather, after dis-

¹⁸ Mallery, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-48.

pensing their own gossip, they turn to teachers as the next most significant persons in their world. Some new teachers find that they have entered a goldfish bowl instead of a classroom. Whatever they do, wherever they go, whatever they wear are the subjects of discussion and comment. Students are very much interested in their teachers. One of the first things student teachers in the secondary schools learn is how to parry personal questions, though the questioner may be truly innocent of intending to pry into personal privacy.

Secondary school teachers, like everybody else, come in all shapes, sizes, ages, religions, races, skills, and abilities. However, the average secondary school teacher differs from the average elementary school teacher in several ways, as we have mentioned before. About half of all secondary school teachers are men, usually married men. The average age of secondary school teachers is higher than that of elementary school teachers. The high school teacher tends to stay in teaching longer than the elementary school teacher. The educational background of these teachers has emphasized subject matter competence primarily, and professional competence secondarily.

Many secondary school teachers have master's degrees or are actively working at the graduate level, often in their own field of specialization. Recent emphasis on subject matter has encouraged many teachers to return to their university for refresher courses in their own subjects and to continue advanced study.

The secondary school teacher finds his own subject exciting. He wants to communicate this to others. This kind of excitement is very contagious and is the mark of the truly inspiring teacher. Unfortunately, after several years of repeat-

ing the same subject matter, some teachers tend to lose this spark. Repeating the events leading up to the Civil War or reviewing the periodic table or the difference between a simple and a complex sentence for the fiftieth time can, indeed, pall. High school classes, unlike most college classes, are not always responsive to the more esoteric aspects of scholarship, unless they are advanced sections or are unusually able students. The excitement can be retained, however, if teachers realize that while the subject changes rather slowly the students change every year. Also, new approaches to presenting subject matter are available to the imaginative and creative teacher who never repeats the same lesson twice. The alert teacher keeps up with new discoveries in his own field and utilizes them in his teaching. No teacher needs to grow stale on the job. Students know quickly which teachers are alert, alive, and interested in their subject matter—and in them.

The elementary school teacher deals with obviously immature children, but the high school teacher daily faces many individuals who are on the threshold of adulthood. We have discussed the differences in cultural expectations between the adult and the adolescent. The secondary school teacher finds that his status as an adult, as a person of authority, is not taken for granted by his students. He speaks as an expert and authority to the degree that he not only knows his subject but knows when to say he does not know. Young people are challenging, and American youth, in particular, tend to question and attack if for no better reason than that the classroom becomes more interesting. Certainly we rarely find here the automatic acceptance of the teacher's word that prevails in many European secondary schools.

Although many people can recall with fondness some of their earlier teachers, they remember more vividly the teachers they had during their secondary school years, possibly because these teachers are closer in memory. Moreover, adolescence is a time when the young person, in his search for his own identity, seeks models in the adults around him. Fortunately, many young people have found a high school teacher or teachers who provided him not only with a sense of his own worth as a growing person but with a model of the mature adult. The testimony from many sources tells us that high school students like teachers who are, first and foremost, fair. They like teachers who show an interest in them as persons, who know how to make their subject interesting and alive, who can keep a class orderly but relaxed, and who have a sense of humor. On the other hand, students have an intense dislike for the teacher who is unfair, who has pets and plays favorites, whose grading system is erratic and biased. They dislike the teacher who bores them, and who either is a punitive martinet or fails to keep any kind of order.

It is helpful, during the years of his adolescence, for the student to come in contact with a number of different teacher personalities. Among these many persons he will find some who will be sympathetic to his own strivings. It is neither possible nor necessary that every teacher like every student, nor that every student like every teacher. What is important is that each student be known and liked by at least one teacher each year. With this as a goal it is probable that the number of students who drop out of school early would decline dramatically.

TEACHERS AND OTHER TEACHERS IN THE SECONDARY SCHOOL

Most secondary schools work as a faculty group. The principal will refer many questions of policy and program to the total faculty for decision. The faculty will be divided into committees to carry out many activities, some for the school as a whole and some for the faculty group itself. It often surprises the neophyte high school teacher to discover the importance of faculty interrelationships. Although he is prepared to teach his own subject, he has not expected, nor has he been prepared for, the kind of personal contact involved in working with other adults on a faculty. Here he will find colleagues, professional peers, who may be like him in some respects and unlike him in others. He finds out that some teachers seem to be self-sufficient and rarely mix with other teachers; some are gregarious and spark the faculty social activities; others are envious and bitter and strive to gain personal advantages or work out other needs.

The secondary school faculty tends to divide along subject matter lines and along major course divisions. That is, the teachers of academic subjects are apt to find their friends in that group; the vocational teachers stick together; the physical education teachers are a group; and so on. These subgroups may be based on many different factors, but it is more rather than less typical to find the groupings divided along the subject lines noted above.

Not only does the faculty divide by major courses; there are status differences to be noted. College preparatory and academic subject matter teachers, particu-

larly of science and mathematics, have high prestige today. At the bottom of the hierarchy are the vocational teachers, teachers of typing and shorthand, home economics, and industrial arts. The coach may rank high in the community valuation yet not be given high status on the faculty. Teachers who instruct advanced or academically gifted sections rank higher than those who teach average or below-average sections. The beginning teacher may find these rankings difficult to accept, since all subjects in the school contribute to the education of the individual. Who can say which subject is better or more important? Yet such are the facts of social life. What is true of the high school is true of any other social organization. It is important that professional educators recognize the existence of a status system, yet see to it that this system does not interfere with the educational growth of any child. Also, it is important that faculty members be given a sense of making an equal contribution to the education of the young. As youth vary, so do their educational needs; and we cannot, in a democracy, say that one group of young people, nor the education they are given, is more to be valued than any other. To say so would be contrary to our democratic traditions.

Faculty relations are important, as you can see. The high school teacher finds a needed haven in the faculty lounge. In today's high schools one is not surprised to see that teachers are permitted to smoke and that a percolator of coffee is constantly available. Most high school teachers have at least one "free" period when they do not have a regular teaching assignment. If the school is not too crowded, the teacher may be able to remain in his own room and work on

his preparation for his classes. If every room is needed for classes, he will have to adjourn to the faculty lounge. This may be a busy place indeed. Most schools cannot provide adequate clerical help for its teachers, so the teacher who wishes to duplicate a test must usually type it and run it off himself. At least one school provides two faculty lounges: one with several typewriters and several duplicating machines, and another for quiet study or talk where the coffee pot bubbles and the coke machine is full.

Coordination among faculty members in a large high school is not easy to achieve. Departmental structures represent an attempt by some schools to help teachers work out common problems relating to the same field. However, teachers differ in their approach to subject matter, in their attitudes toward children, and in their willingness to cooperate with other teachers. In the history department, for instance, one may find a chronological approach, a problem-centered approach, a multiple-reference approach—all within three different classrooms. Differences in grading and marking are also typical.

These differences, despite organizational attempts to encourage general policies, illustrate the extensive freedom enjoyed by most secondary school teachers to teach what and how they wish. Courses of study may suggest topics to be covered and in general define the content for a given course at a given grade level, but there is rarely an attempt to insist on a rigid adherence to a single approach. At the secondary school level there are fewer supervisors, they usually have a larger load of teachers, and have only the power to suggest and guide a teacher. Even the school principal is not

able to dictate exact teaching approaches to be used by any teacher. He may indicate to a faculty the approach he believes to be sound, and he may tell a teacher to avoid a certain controversial issue or a potentially dangerous activity, but rarely can the principal do more than that. The new and beginning teacher is, of course, more vulnerable and so is more apt to take suggestions because his contract may not be renewed. After the teacher receives tenure, he has considerable freedom, within the bounds of propriety, to teach as and what he wishes.

CHANGES AHEAD IN SECONDARY EDUCATION

A recent nation-wide inquiry among secondary school principals indicates that during the next five years we may expect many changes. Among those which will affect a large number of schools are these:

1. There will be an increase in the emphasis on science, mathematics and languages, with additional years of instruction added in foreign languages by introducing another language.
2. Courses will be moved downward, with the addition of advanced placement or college level work for accelerated students at the top.
3. Many new instructional devices will be used, in addition to increased use of traditional aids: movies, TV, programmed materials, tape recorders, and so on.
4. There will be an increase in homogeneous grouping for classroom instruction.

5. The use of teacher teams will increase.¹⁹

Several recent studies of the secondary school have been particularly influential in suggesting some of the ways in which the secondary school may need to change to provide adequate schooling. There are two basic ways in which the schools can change: one is by doing more than and better than what is already being done; the other is by drastically overhauling the structure to find new organizational patterns. The first position is exemplified by Conant, cited previously in this chapter, and the other by Trump and Baynham.²⁰

We would predict, in addition, that more and more schools will increase their offerings during summer school for both make-up work and new courses for credit.

Dr. Conant's report created a great deal of attention and disturbance when it was issued in 1958. It pointed out the problems facing American education with particular reference to our deficiencies in scientific and mathematical preparation and in foreign language instruction. Dr. Conant made a case for the gradual elimination of small high schools, since they could not provide sufficient variety or depth of instruction in these fields. He suggested that able students be required to take a heavy program of academic subjects and that most students also be expected to fulfill more than the usual standard sixteen Carnegie

¹⁹ *The Principals Look at the Schools* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1962), pp. 33-43.

²⁰ J. Lloyd Trump and Dorsey Baynham, *Guide to Better Schools: Focus on Change*. (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1961).

units of work for graduation. He stressed the value of the comprehensive high school which permitted students to pursue many vocational aims under one roof, but he deplored the tendency of many able students to take soft or easy courses.

The Trump report (as the Trump and Baynham book is usually called) reflects a very different orientation. There was agreement that secondary education needed a new look; but, instead of adding on course work or class periods, the schools which cooperated in the project Dr. Trump headed were encouraged to try out many different kinds of organizational arrangements. The findings suggest that schools can more efficiently organize the instructional program if the standard 35-student class and the 50-minute period are done away with. Instead, student time would be divided between large-group instruction (classes of 80 to 200), small-group seminars or discussion groups (of 15 or less) and individual study and research. Teachers would be organized into teaching teams with a master teacher as team head, assistant teachers, and teacher aides as members of the team. Salary would be adjusted to the degree of competence and kind of specialization of the teacher on the team. This kind of proposed school reorganization, as well as the proposals of Conant, may be seen in operation in schools in many parts of the country today. The more conservative recommendations of Conant have had somewhat greater acceptance, mostly because schools in general had modified their programs in the direction of his suggestions for organization and structure. However, some features of Trump's program are also appearing as schools experiment with

team teaching, television teaching, and provisions for independent study.

SUMMARY

The secondary school of the United States presents a picture of an institution in the process of change. While many characteristics of the school have been fairly standard for fifty years, there is growing pressure to re-evaluate secondary education. Not the least of these pressures is our awareness of the incipient conflict between adolescent and adult values, with the resultant loss in educational efficiency. Secondary school teachers have a unique opportunity to work with eager and vulnerable youth, though to achieve acceptance by youth and thus influence them toward maturity is no easy task. Proposals for changes in the secondary school in recent years have been received with great interest. It is likely that the junior and senior high schools of the future will be rather different from those any of you have experienced.

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PART III

American Education





THE MILLIONS OF STUDENTS AND THOUSANDS OF TEACHERS WORKING TOGETHER THROUGHOUT THE LAND CONSTITUTE TOGETHER A TREMENDOUS OPERATION. THE PATTERN OF EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES IS UNIQUE AND HAS DEVELOPED THROUGH THE DECADES FROM THE SIMPLE BEGINNINGS OF COLONIAL TIMES. PROGRESS HAS TAKEN PLACE IN ADMINISTRATION CURRICULUM AND SCHOOL BUILDING DESIGN. THE MODERN BOARD OF EDUCATION DELIBERATES AND DECIDES EDUCATIONAL POLICY FOR STUDENTS IN KINDERGARTEN TO OLDSTERS IN ADULT EDUCATION CLASSES.

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American Organiza- tional Patterns for Education

It is dangerous to generalize about the American school system: for every generalization there will be numerous exceptions. What is typical practice or organization for one part of the country may be unknown elsewhere. Laws and policies found in one state may be completely missing in a neighboring state.

The American school system is made up of 37,153 different school districts, each governed by its own school board. A district can be 2 square miles or 17,000 square miles. Hawaii has only 1 school district, whereas Nebraska has 3569. Some districts serve as few as ten students; others, nearly a million. One is entitled to ask if there really is a "system" in the American school system.

The American school system, as already noted, is made up of thousands of school districts. The Constitution gives to the states jurisdiction over public education; school districts are therefore products of state legislation, and they reflect different state policies. The population of a state or of an area within a state bears little relationship to the number of districts that it may have. The school district may be a township district, a county unit district, a consolidated district, an independent city school district, a town school district, or a supervisory unit district. This sounds very confusing, and it is. Despite the differences in terminology, however, school districts have some common characteristics which make it possible to generalize somewhat about the "American school system."

The large number of school districts found in some areas of the United States has been viewed with alarm by many observers. To have so many administrative units is obviously expensive. Small districts serving few children cannot afford the many services that a modern educational program requires. In recent years there has been a significant movement toward the consolidation of school districts, particularly in rural areas. The number of one-room, one-teacher schools has been reduced substantially. In 1917, for example, there were 196,037 one-teacher schools; in 1959 there were 23,695. This very dramatic decline coincides with a parallel decline in the total number of school districts.¹ For example, during the fifteen-year period after World War II, the number of school

¹ "Little Red Schoolhouse," *NEA Research Bulletin*, 38 (No. 1): 3-10 (February 1960).

districts was reduced by more than half.²

The school district is basically an administrative unit. Its purpose is to provide for the raising and disbursing of money to build schools and maintain them, hire teachers, provide supplies for instruction, maintain school busses, and enforce school attendance laws. As a unit of government, the school district is a distinct entity. The boundaries of a school district may have little or no relation to the boundaries of other political units, sometimes extending beyond a town's limits, taking in parts of a county, or overlapping other civil jurisdictions.

The organization of the school district is further complicated by the fact that in many states there are in effect three administrative units, one piled on top of the other. At the bottom is the local school district. Next comes a county school district, which has some administrative jurisdiction over all the districts within that area. Finally, over all, is the state department of education, which works with both county and local units. In some areas, as in New England, several rural districts which do not have enough resources to provide all the services needed, join forces to make up a "super-visory unit" which may or may not be contiguous with any other political unit.

While this lack of uniformity across the nation regarding what is a school district may seem baffling and, in a sense, unnecessary, whatever form is traditional in a given state makes good sense to its own residents. The functions of education may be well or poorly carried out, regardless of the way in which the dis-

trict is established. Once a political organization is written into law and has gained acceptance by generations of use, change is difficult. Some archaic methods of administering school districts have been abandoned, and others wither through disuse, but the process of evolution toward efficient and democratic school district administration has been a slow one.

In California, for instance, the lack of economy as well as the limited educational program found in many small school districts have been the focus of many attempts at change. School districts can vote to merge with other districts and thus become larger or become part of a unified program. But many small elementary school districts with a one-teacher school and a three-man board of education do not wish to vote themselves out of existence. The local board members have pride of status and influence. The people like their own school, small as it may be. Often they do not relish having their youngsters travel longer distances even if the proposed new school promises better educational opportunities. Thus many small uneconomic and educationally limited units still remain because of the tenacity people have for their own local institutions.

Yet the inefficiency of smaller units has been recognized in many areas. A most dramatic example is that of Mississippi, which, in twenty-eight years, moved from a state total of 5560 districts to 51. Eight other states have eliminated 80 percent or more of their school districts: Arkansas, Idaho, Illinois, Nevada, New York, South Carolina, Texas, and West Virginia. Today the average school district enrolls 900 students as against the average of 200 reported in 1931—

² Edgar L. Morphet, Roe L. Johns, and Theodore Reller, *Educational Administration: Concepts, Practices, and Issues* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1959), Chap. 10.

1932.³ Thus, despite the lingering nostalgia for the small local school, the movement is toward larger units, more efficiently administered and providing more services and facilities for all children.

Schools in this country belong in a very real way to the people. Schools are conservative institutions, and people agree to changes in their institutions with much reluctance. They may disregard objective and rational arguments for innovations and demonstrable improvements. Thus does democracy work. The schools the people want may be excellent, or they may be inadequate. Should we limit the power of the people to seek the education for their children that they wish? If one believes in the ultimate greater wisdom of the common man as being able to choose among alternatives, then, of course, one has to agree that the control of education by the voting citizens of a community is a good thing. The issue then becomes one of helping to educate the public to want what is best, not only for themselves as individuals, but for the nation at large. This responsibility rests heavily upon educators and upon members of the lay public who have local as well as national interests at heart.

NONPUBLIC SCHOOLS

When we talk about the American school system we are talking usually about the public schools. In 1960-1961, 82.7 percent of the population aged five to seventeen years were in public schools.⁴

³ *NEA Research Bulletin*, 38:15 (February 1960).

⁴ *NEA Research Bulletin*, 39:26 (February 1961).

Of those not in public schools, some had dropped out of school at age fifteen or sixteen. But the others were in private or church-related (parochial) schools. The significance of these nonpublic schools varies with the locality. In some states, such as Rhode Island, there may be areas where more children are enrolled in parochial schools than in public schools. In other states, notably on the eastern seaboard, private schools which are not church-related have a substantial enrollment, though far below that of the parochial school systems.

A doctrine fundamental to American democracy is the separation of church and state as spelled out in the First Amendment to the Constitution: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; . . ." Yet the Tenth Amendment states: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." Under this amendment, the courts have clearly upheld the jurisdiction of the states over educational matters. However, although a state can compel students to attend school, it cannot compel them to attend any particular kind of school, public, private, or parochial. A nonsectarian school system is, by implication, supported by law, even though the right to maintain private and parochial schools is guaranteed in the same manner.

The problem of supervision of private and parochial schools thus becomes one of the "gray" areas in education. While most states have delegated to state boards of education or to local school authorities some limited supervision of these schools so that their standards will

be comparable to those in public schools, enforcement is difficult and often nonexistent.⁵

Some states require nonpublic schools to register with the local school boards. Others will not approve fulfillment of the compulsory school law if children attend schools that are below standards that have been set by the state. Some places prescribe the length of the school term and the curriculum the schools shall follow, although without interfering with the religious aspects of the curriculum. The certifying of teachers in some nonpublic schools is another way the state can set standards for nonpublic schools. Although the state may struggle to achieve adequate education for all children, the separation of church and state makes it hard for state agents to be sure of their ground. Regulation in the area of religion is fraught with emotional overtones that can cause difficult problems.

The differences between the public and nonpublic schools are, however, usually less marked than their similarities. Similar courses of study are to be found, since students can and often do readily transfer from a public to a nonpublic school and back again. These schools send their graduates on to many of the same colleges and universities and thus are bound to prepare their students for similar entrance examinations and course requirements. Furthermore, the accrediting yardstick for secondary schools is the same, whether the school is public or not. It is of the utmost importance that a high school be accredited; if it is not, its graduates will have a difficult time getting into a reputable college or university. Thus

the process of accreditation tends to work toward uniformity at the secondary level. One is not surprised, therefore, to find uniformity at the elementary school grades, since these children must move successfully into the higher grades.

The differences that are to be noted are, however, of interest. In parochial schools, as one would expect, the emphasis on religious education is apparent throughout much of the curriculum. Special editions of standard textbooks are available to Catholic schools in which the examples and references are to religious institutions and persons. Some items found in public school education are missing from parochial schools, particularly those items which are counter to the religious beliefs of the sponsoring church. In nearly 50 percent of Catholic parochial schools the students wear uniforms, as against no such practice in the public schools.⁶ The parochial school teacher rarely participates in community activities and there are few deliberate efforts to get parents into the school to discuss their children's progress.⁷ The Catholic school does not often indulge in such "frills" of education as field trips, and many typical public school social activities are discouraged. Discipline is apt to be quite strict. Few of the parochial elementary schools have a full-time principal, since most of them teach as well as administer their schools. The faculties of Catholic parochial schools are predominantly members of religious orders, although approximately one fourth are lay teachers. Most of the teachers have themselves been educated in parochial schools. There are many more elementary paro-

⁵ "The State and Sectarian Education," *NEA Research Bulletin*, 19:208-212 (December 1956).

⁶ Joseph H. Fichter, *Parochial School: A Sociological Study* (Notre Dame, Ind.: Notre Dame University Press, 1958), p. 470.

⁷ *Ibid.*

chial schools than there are secondary schools.⁸

Although the largest parochial school system is that operated by the Catholic Church, other religious groups also have parochial schools: Lutherans, Episcopalians, Seventh-Day Adventists, Quakers, Jews, Ethical Culturists, Baptists, and so forth. In 1960 there were approximately one million students in non-Catholic church-related schools.⁹

Private schools, usually day schools at the elementary level, and boarding schools at the secondary level, are usually non-profit ventures, although a number are run for profit. Usually the higher the caliber of the school the more apt it is to be a non-profit enterprise supervised by a lay board of trustees and endowed by wealthy benefactors. Many of these private schools cater to the wealthy since they charge tuitions of varying amounts. Some of the very exclusive private preparatory schools, such as Phillips Exeter, Groton, Mercersburg, and Andover, are felt to be as essential in the education of the socially elite as the later college education at the "right" Ivy League college. The program in many of these schools is very similar to that of the public schools, though typically classes are smaller and, with few exceptions, there is little experimentation with school practices. A few private schools, such as the Putney School in Vermont and the Verde Valley School in Arizona, have tried out some marked departures in school content and methods.¹⁰ Of course, there can also be such

wildly experimental schools as the one reported in *Time* (November 10, 1961) in which there are no rules, students allegedly learn when and as they wish, or not at all, and only the parents who send the children and the persons who pay the deficit on the school's budget are really concerned.

Thus to talk about the American school system is to speak of a bewildering assortment of different kinds of schools. In many respects schools across the country may appear to be very different. Certainly a parochial or a private school may seem quite different from a typical public school. Yet the differences do not preclude the fact that there are fundamental similarities. A basic commitment to an American democratic society is found in all these classrooms. From them emerge students educated by different approaches, yet usually able to work toward similar social ends. For this reason, as we note the behavior of the products of this very mixed school system, many observers do not have serious qualms about the lack of national control over education. Yet there are many problems created by this intense localism, and we shall explore these later.

THE EDUCATIONAL LADDER

The school district is the basic unit of school administration. Dotted the countryside of a rural district or spread throughout the streets and boulevards of the city are the many schools that make up one school district. There are elementary schools, junior high schools, senior high schools, junior colleges, special schools. The school sequence is divided into grades, and these in turn are put together in a given school building. The

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 454.

⁹ Peter H. and Alice S. Rossi, "Some Effects of Parochial School Education in America," *Daedalus*, 90 (No. 2): 301 (Spring 1961).

¹⁰ F. K. Patterson, *High Schools for a Free Society* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1959), pp. 51-59.

typical pattern in the largest number of school districts is a six-year elementary school, a junior high school of three years, and a three-year senior high school. This organizational pattern is called the 6-3-3 plan.

The usual pattern found in the school systems of America in 1920 was an eight-year elementary school and a four-year high school. Since that time there have been important changes in school organization, most notably the acceptance of a six-year elementary school and the junior high school as a school unit. In fact, between 1952 and 1959 there were more junior high schools opened than any other single kind of school. By 1959, 82 percent of all school children were in school districts having a junior and a senior high school.¹¹

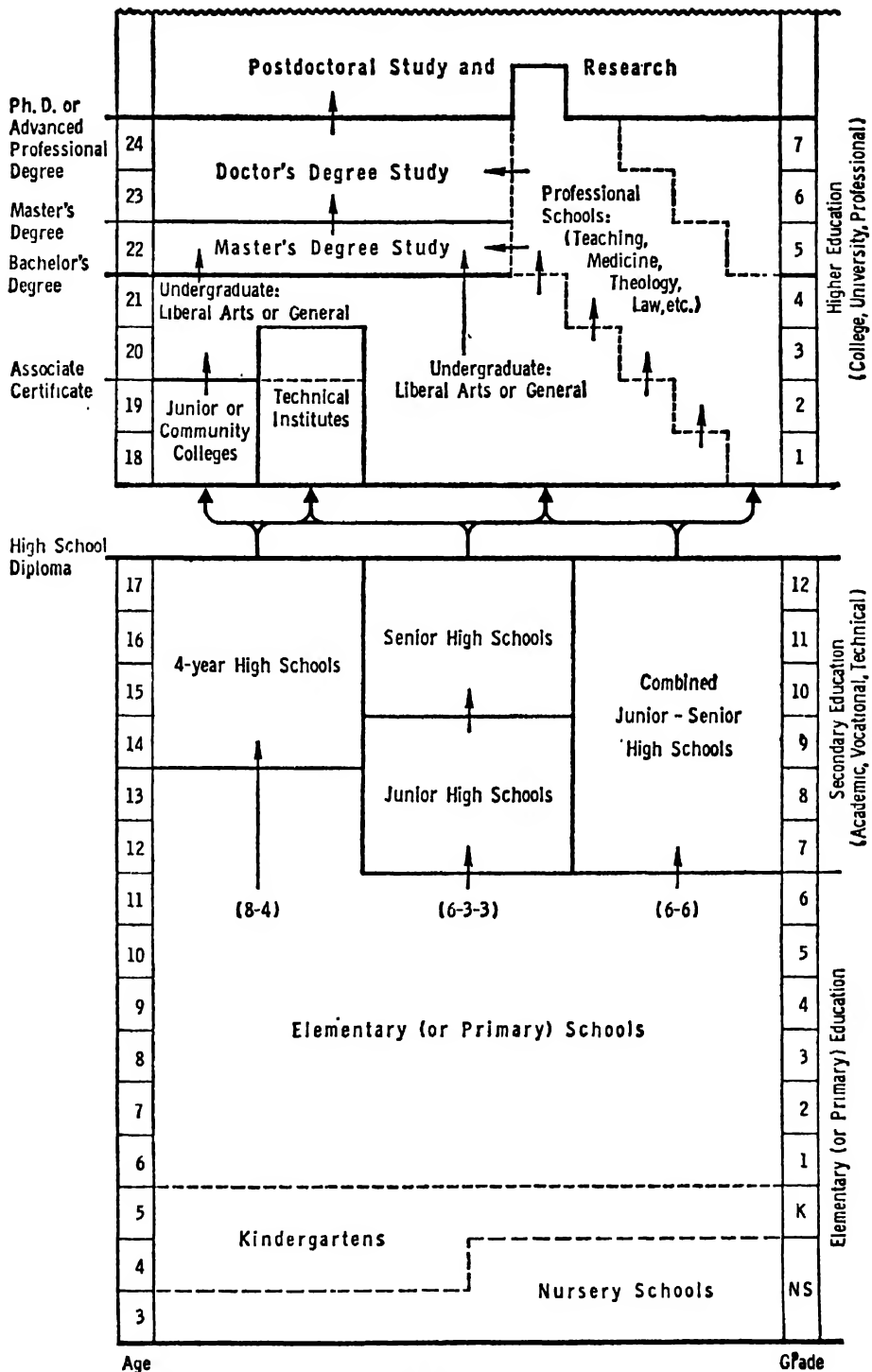
The chart that follows is a helpful representation of the total structure of education—nursery school through the highest levels of post doctoral study. One of the aspects of the educational ladder that this chart demonstrates very clearly is that in only one stage are all children generally in the same kind of school. The ages six through eleven are shown as the only part of the structure that is completely undivided as to kind of school—all go to an *elementary* school. All other levels show two or more different kinds of organization. It is suggested that the options and variations offered students as they leave one level for the next is a subject worthy of some discussion by a class of prospective teachers. The options facing high school graduates in particular can be crucial and significant for them and, in terms of the strength and vigor of

a nation, have extremely important social implications.¹²

In a later chapter the historical roots of the graded school idea will be explored, and it is a fascinating story. As we look at the current organizational picture the question immediately can be raised: Is this a good way to organize schools? As a matter of fact, there is little but hunch and opinion to guide one. Research cannot as yet tell us which kind of school organization is best for what kinds of children to serve what ends. We can only observe children in different school settings, note how effective and adequate each appears to be, and draw inferences regarding what kind of school seems best to serve current student needs. Certainly we would agree that as times change, school structures too must change. Undoubtedly, changing needs influenced the recent popularity of the junior high school. Boys and girls mature earlier, it seems, both physically and socially; and many are ready for educational fares which are more mature and sophisticated than earlier junior high school programs provided. In very recent years there has been some evidence that senior high school youth can benefit from programs which are more academic in nature, permitting more independent study and reaching more complex levels of inquiry. Providing school programs for younger children, too, seems to be a significant trend in school organization. Nursery schools and kindergartens are enrolling an increasing number of children. Although few public nursery schools are in opera-

¹² U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, *Progress in Public Education in the United States of America, 1960-61* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1961, p. 1.

¹¹ *NEA Research Bulletin*, 39:47-50 (May 1961).



THE STRUCTURE OF EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, *Progress of Public Education in the United States of America—1960-61* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1961), p. 1.

tion, a large number of private and cooperative nurseries are to be found. Kindergartens have become better established and now over half of all five-year-olds are enrolled in public kindergartens.

Yet there is dissatisfaction with many aspects of school organization. It has been noted that the junior high school, for instance, may tend to ape the senior high school with its interscholastic athletics, marching bands, formal dances, even secret sororities and fraternities. "The students are too young for these kinds of activities," say some critics of the junior high school; "it would be better to have the old eight-year elementary school which would keep boys and girls younger." "It is not possible," counter other educators, "because children tend to grow up whether we permit it or not." What we should do is examine and modify the nature of the program offered, continuously making sure that it is suitable for the early adolescent, and not a dilution of the senior high school program that will follow.

The history of education is replete with examples of experiments and changes in the organization of schools. Often promising new departures began well but languished and were abandoned later. Probably one reason for this is that institutional patterns are complex and inter-related. If one part is changed without considering the relationships that may be disturbed, failure may be inevitable. This is stated well by the authors of a recent book concerning new ways of organizing elementary schools for more effective learning:

School organization is only one of several major aspects of education, all of which must be kept in balance. To change structure alone may be to create a structure

that will now be out of step with everything with which it should be coordinated. In proposing something new, we must recognize both the relation of any proposal to its educational era and the functions new structures must, therefore, serve. If we are successful in maintaining perspective, we will not seek in change a convenient panacea for all educational ills. The bumpy road to educational betterment is littered with the remains of sound educational ideas that perished under the burden of impossible expectations for them.¹³

The school ladder implies some kind of progression. The child enters the first grade, the lowest rung, and moves upward grade by grade and year by year. The dividing line between one kind of school experience and another, as exemplified by the discussion over what kind of junior high school program is best, is an area of recurrent discussion. Today some elementary schools, for instance, are introducing some kinds of departmentalization, such as is found in the junior high school, for the upper elementary grades. At what points in a child's development is he ready for different kinds of school experiences? Are all children ready at just about the same chronological age? If not, how can we tell which child would be ready for what? These kinds of questions are best discussed in connection with the curriculum of the school. Organization is merely a structure for achieving learning ends. To discuss it in isolation from a deeper consideration of the curriculum would be sterile and superficial. A later chapter deals with the curriculum and its relationship to the organizational structure of the school.

¹³ John I. Goodlad and Robert H. Anderson, *The Nongraded Elementary School* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1959), p. 52.

WHO RUNS THE SCHOOLS?

Ninety-two percent of school boards are elected by local citizens. Except for local government, there is no comparable institution in our country which is so directly related to the local community. It is interesting to note, of course, that there are several states in which the local board of education is not elected. Accidents of history alone can account for the difference. So permissive is the American school system that elected and appointed school boards can exist side by side. In Maryland, for instance, where school districts are county-wide, all school boards are appointed by the governor, except in one county, where they are elected. The same situation existed in Virginia until a few years ago, when the state legislature changed to an appointive basis the one county board of education that had hitherto been elected: the Arlington board had moved faster than the state leaders thought desirable in implementing the desegregation decision of the Supreme Court.

School boards are typically composed of from three to five members, though seven-man boards are also common. The qualifications for school board membership are, in most instances, those of the general electorate. Only in a few instances does a state make any provision for educational attainment on the part of school board members, and then in the most general terms.

Kentucky requires a minimum of an eighth-grade education or its equivalent. Of the eleven other states which make some mention of educational qualifications, such qualifications that are mentioned include being able to read and write, having a practical education, and

having a fair elementary education. In Maryland, school board members are to be appointed "solely because of their character and fitness," and in North Carolina the statutes read: "No person shall be eligible as a member of a county or city board of education who is not proven to be a man of intelligence, of good moral character, of good business qualifications, and known to be in favor of public education."¹⁴

Few board members receive any pay for serving, although many receive expenses. The school board member must be a public-spirited individual indeed, since his office is time-consuming, repays him in no monetary terms, and often subjects him to community pressure and criticism.

The people who make up school boards come, typically, from the middle- and upper-class levels of communities. Most board members have more than the average education of the population at large. A study in 1937 indicated that school boards were made up of professional and business men or their wives in towns and cities, and of upper-income farmers in rural areas.¹⁵ Studies since then corroborate these facts: the community persons most active in decision making regarding the schools represent the higher socioeconomic levels of the population, particularly the professional and business groups. Working-class groups are under-

¹⁴ Morrill M. Hall, *Provisions Governing Membership on Local Boards of Education* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Office of Education, Bulletin No. 13, 1957), pp. 17-18.

¹⁵ George S. Counts, "The Social Composition of School Boards," *University of Chicago Supplementary Educational Monographs*, No. 33 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937).

represented, as are minority groups. Women make up between 10 and 15 percent of school board membership.

In any "representative" government there must always be a question of whom the elected official "represents." A school board member must, by the nature of his position, represent the needs of all the people and their children in his community. Yet there may be an understandable conflict between what some groups in a community may want and what the school board member deems desirable. One school board, for instance, in a semi-rural area, is predominantly made up of well-to-do farmers. Their values and the decisions they make about the school are significant:

Although farmers represent only about one-third of the population, a heavy emphasis in the school curriculum is placed on home economics and agriculture training. Between 1945 and 1951, 21 out of a total of 57 male graduates took the agricultural course, yet only 4 of the 21 engaged in farming in 1951. The major opportunities for the school's graduates lie in industry, business and college. The business course, a relatively recent addition taught by one person . . . represents a concession to businessmen. The industrial arts program consists of a mechanics course which is geared to tractor and automobile repairs. . . . As a consequence most graduates must take unskilled jobs since regional industries do not hire them as apprentices. The college preparatory course, the other major offering, meets minimum state requirements and on the whole qualifies students for admission to state teachers colleges, where three or four go each year. Agricultural training is overemphasized and perpetuates a tradition of what has largely become useless training.¹⁶

¹⁶ Arthur J. Vidich and Joseph Bensman, *Small Town in Mass Society* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1958), p. 179.

A similar situation can and does, of course, exist in urban areas where children in slum schools are given essentially the same curriculum as children in middle-class neighborhoods, with the result that the already educationally deprived slum child may find little in the school that helps him deal with his immediate world.

A careful study of children in such slum schools concludes with the comment that the "orientation of our schools at present is almost entirely toward middle class values and ways of life, which have no concrete meaning for the lower-class child."¹⁷

The question, then, of which public the school board serves is one needing careful appraisal. It is not a question easily answered. Since middle-class values are those accepted by the majority of Americans, it is doubtful if the school, in any way, could fail to approve of such values. The problem, however, actually is less one of which values are approved, but is, rather, how a school system can best go about bringing all children into an awareness of the culture in which they live. If the school punishes a child for adhering to alien values, the child will resist education; if the school accepts children as they come and tries to work with them from this starting point, critics may feel that the schools are not upholding traditional virtues.

The problem goes deeper, of course. If there is a labor dispute currently upsetting a community, can the school present fairly the sides of both management and

¹⁷ Martin Deutsch, *Minority Group and Class Status as Related to Social and Personality Factors in Scholastic Achievement* (Monograph No. 2, Society for Applied Anthropology; Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University, 1960).

labor? Are there places where a fair discussion of public versus private power is impossible? In Levittown, New York, the community was deeply divided over the use in schools of a cantata, "The Lonesome Train." Some school patrons and school board members considered this material subversive. Others felt strongly that it was artistic, educational material. The issue was fought on many fronts and influenced a hotly contested school board election.¹⁸

Or the school board may face an issue that is very far removed indeed from any kind of political overtones, as in the situation reported by William Whyte in *The Organization Man*:

There is always a controversy of some kind going on [in Park Forest] over the elementary schools, but it is more on administration and taxes than matters scholastic.

A notable fracas was over the schools' use of tests to screen kindergarten applicants. Parents whose children flunked were outraged, and when Superintendent Smith's contract came up for renewal in early 1956 many parents were on hand to protest. The board voted to retain Smith but the proceedings were unusually acrimonious—even for Park Forest. From the *Park Forest Reporter*, February 2: "An unruly crowd of nearly 180 jammed the Sauk Trail multipurpose room to hear the verdict . . . rules of order were violated left and right as spectators voiced opinions . . . [board member] Glassner's prepared speech was two-pronged and included a tabulated 'score' of Smith's administrative successes and failures . . . even more bitter was his indictment of his fellow board members during which he accused former President Albertz of breach of faith . . . Joseph

Egan's immediate criticism was of the 'betrayal' of private conversations held with members of the board and employees of the school district."¹⁹

The task the school board faces of determining policy for America's schools is thus made infinitely more difficult because of the divergence among Americans regarding many facets of life and education. As one school board member said, "Educators are the only professional people who have to take the public seriously." And the school board, as representative of that public, is often buffeted and pressured by differing groups. Because school comes so close to home to anyone with a child in a classroom, and because there are so many who feel themselves the guardians of America's future, school issues are often passionately debated at the local, state, and national level.

HOW A SCHOOL BOARD WORKS

The school board may seem to be a remote policy-making group as far as most teachers are concerned, but school board elections are usually of intense interest to them. A change of personnel on the board may mean a change of policy or program. Often, when elections are heated and fought out on the basis of vital issues, then teachers as well as other citizens are greatly concerned. But the average teacher probably will never appear at a school board meeting. If he teaches in a large school he may never meet a school board member. He may

¹⁸ Joseph F. Maloney, "The Lonesome Train" in *Levittown* (Cases in Public Administration and Policy Formation, No. 39; University: University of Alabama Press, 1958).

¹⁹ William Whyte, *The Organization Man* (New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 1957), p. 427.

hear a teachers' meeting addressed by the chairman of the board or by some board member, but that is probably his closest contact with these people who are so important to him.

The larger the school system the more remote will the board of education be. But in small communities it is probable that teachers may become acquainted with board members, though even in this situation the individual teacher will rarely be able to attend a board meeting. Many school boards meet during the day; this, of course, means that the working teacher cannot attend meetings. Nor is the average teacher expected to come to board meetings. Indeed, school boards would be surprised if teachers appeared at their meetings. Thus the prospective teacher ought to make a special effort to attend a board meeting, for he may not soon have another opportunity.

School boards are regulated by state statutes. These vary from state to state: some local boards have considerable power; others are more limited as to their area of activity. But in every instance school boards make many important and crucial decisions about the schools. They are typically empowered to prepare a budget and to establish the salaries of all personnel, select the superintendent of schools, determine courses of study, choose textbooks, authorize the erection of school buildings and the purchase of supplies, make rules governing the operation of the school system, and work toward the continued improvement of the schools. The larger the school district, the more likely is the board to delegate many of its powers to school personnel while retaining its policy-making function. In terms of best practice, the school board should act on matters of policy and leave the implementation to members of

the school staff. In small systems it is a temptation for the school board to move into more direct operation of the schools. Also, since the school budget is often the largest in the local area, decisions of the board have a far-reaching effect.

THE STATE AS EDUCATOR

The local board of education is a very significant feature in the American school system. Although the states acquired control over education as one of the powers not explicitly given to the federal government, this power has been delegated to these local bodies. In recent years, however, there has been a greatly increased trend toward more state control.

State departments of education, like any other aspect of the educational scene, are as individual as are the states themselves. Some states have strong departments of education; some have relatively weak ones. Some states that do not have a state board of education—Illinois, Michigan, North Dakota, and Wisconsin—have an official, usually called the state superintendent, who is charged with the task of supervising the state educational program. But in these states, as well as in all the other states, there are one or more boards assigned the task of looking after higher education within their respective borders. In addition, in the states other than the four named above, there is a state board which has particular responsibility for education below the college level.

State boards of education are appointed by the governor in most states. In a few states the legislature appoints them, and in five states the state board is elected by the people. The state superintendent of schools was elected by popular vote in twenty-six states, chosen by the state

board of education in eighteen states, and appointed by the governor in four states. These data were for the year 1955.²⁰ Times have changed since then. Now there are at least twenty-two states that have given their boards of education power to appoint the state superintendent of schools. The interest in strengthening state departments of education is also seen in the fact that professional personnel at the state level has increased nearly 100 percent since 1950. Improved state financial support for schools, one of the main reasons for the greatly increased influence of state departments of education, has been a very significant trend in the last decade.²¹

What do state departments of education do? One of the important recent activities of state boards has been the attempt, through changing financial support procedures, to strive toward equalizing educational opportunities. Local tax bases are often unable to support a quality program in education. By using state money, the state can help poor districts. In addition, state personnel can provide expert help in many areas of education, particularly those smaller districts which cannot afford them. These services are, in some states, purely advisory. The state board's personnel work to persuade local schools to adopt newer practices or to utilize more modern approaches to education. In some states the board may have enough authority to make its suggestions

equivalent to direct orders. It may withhold some state money, for instance, from a school system which does not comply with the state standards for class size or teacher certification.

Since state boards vary so much in the power they exercise, it would be wise to investigate the actual situation in the state in which you may be planning to teach. Often the individual teacher is unaware of the real importance of state board activities as they affect his own job. As a professional person, moreover, you ought to know how the state board operates in your own state and how these activities affect the local school.

ADMINISTERING THE SCHOOLS

While local school boards are the key to much that is unique in the American school system, the actual day-to-day operations of the schools are in the hands of the local chief school administrator and his staff. These are the people with whom the individual teacher is more apt to have contact, and it is they who provide the professional educational leadership for the schools.

Typically, each school district will have a chief administrator who is the superintendent of schools. He will be appointed by the local school board, though in a few places, such as Connecticut, the state department of education appoints the chief local school officer for very small communities. The superintendent is usually appointed for a period of three, four, or five years. As his term of office is dependent on the approval of the school board, he must, of course, make every effort to see to it that this body is sympathetic to what he is trying to do

²⁰ Fred F. Beach and Robert F. Will, *The State and Education* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Office of Education Bulletin No. 23; Washington, D.C.: 1955).

²¹ U.S. Office of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, *Progress in Public Education in the United States of America, 1960-61* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1961), p. 9.

with the schools for which he is responsible.

The superintendent has the authority to hire clerical and service employees and he recommends professional personnel to the board. In many states a board cannot employ a professional person who has not been recommended by the superintendent. He is the one who must look after the total school program. By the very nature of his position he is one of the most vulnerable individuals in the whole school situation. Since he does not have permanent tenure of office, he must of course see to it that what he does is approved by the school board. Yet he also must do his best to keep his teachers and staff satisfied.

A study of the role of the superintendency has revealed the many conflicting situations forced upon the superintendent. While the superintendent may, in all honesty, choose to select personnel only on the basis of professional qualifications, local people may feel that their wishes should be considered, particularly if they hold positions of power in the local community.²² In the study by Gross and his associates it was found that superintendents reported acute role conflict not only in hiring personnel, but in making use of their time, in making salary recommendations, and in making budget recommendations.

There are certainly few positions in American education more open to public scrutiny. While the superintendent may desire to provide the utmost in professional educational leadership, he also has to satisfy community expectations—two

forces that may have little in common. Whatever he does, the superintendent is almost bound to be criticized by some group or other. His job is typically a fourteen-hour-a-day one, with innumerable evening and weekend meetings to attend. He must be an adroit politician as well as an expert in education. Although the superintendent is the highest-paid official in any school system—and superintendents of the largest school systems in America have salaries above that of the U.S. Commissioner of Education—the job is an extremely demanding and insecure one.

"Like it or not," says Charles H. Wilson, "the school superintendent is basically a politician."²³ Wilson, a superintendent of many years' experience, caustically describes the dilemma into which our American school system places the individual who is given the greatest responsibility for professional leadership. What is of great significance to teachers as well as the general public is that, despite the built-in conflict found in his position, the school superintendent is undoubtedly the most powerful figure in American education. Here one can often find the educational statesman. Here, where the going is most difficult, are the men who speak with the authority of experience. Charged with tremendous responsibility, with a job almost beyond human abilities, the superintendent is nevertheless probably the most significant person in shaping educational programs. According to Wilson:

Can we hope for a climate in public education where we can support scholars in top echelons of administration? Personally, I see little possibility so long as the major

²² Neal Gross, Ward S. Mason, and Alexander W. McEachern, *Explorations in Role Analysis: Studies of the Superintendency Role* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1958), p. 259.

²³ Charles H. Wilson, "The Superintendent's Many Publics," *Saturday Review*, 44:49-51 (October 21, 1961).

support and control of schools lie in the hands of local communities. As long as public education receives its major financial support by direct vote of the citizens, as long as the major control lies in the hands of popularly elected officials, and as long as *all* children are compelled to attend school, skilled political leadership will be required of the school executive. Any alternative is alien to the American mind.²⁴

THE SUPERINTENDENT'S STAFF

The more complex the schools become, the greater the number of specialists that must be employed. The superintendent of even a moderate-sized school system must have a staff of specialists to get all the work done. The typical staff, operating out of the central office, will include such individuals as these:

School Supervisors

School supervisors are instructional aides who work with individual teachers and groups of teachers to build courses of study, select textbooks, and improve instructional practices. At the elementary level they may be general supervisors, helping a teacher in any area, or specialists in reading, art, or the like. At the secondary level they are more apt to be specialists in a given subject field. In many school systems these people may also be called curriculum coordinators or curriculum consultants.

Pupil Personnel Workers

School psychologists, school social workers, and home and school visitors are concerned with children in trouble, children who do not come to school, or children who are having extreme difficulties with learning.

Building and Maintenance Personnel

One of the biggest tasks of school administrators today is keeping up with the need for new schools and maintaining those in operation. Included in this category are not only professional personnel, but custodial workers, gardeners, plumbers, carpenters, electricians, and so on.

Transportation Personnel

Operating the school bus fleet requires special supervision, as well as auto mechanics and bus drivers.

Audio-Visual Aids Specialists

In moderately large school systems a central office containing films, filmstrips, special equipment, and supplementary books is organized and administered by special personnel.

School Lunch Workers

By means of surplus foods the federal government subsidizes a hot-lunch program for school children. A specially trained cafeteria supervisor and staff must see that this program functions properly; assistants must be hired, trained, and supervised.

Personnel Assistants

The superintendent will often have an assistant who interviews prospective teachers and keeps records pertaining to professional personnel. There may be additional personnel officers in a large system who keep records on noncertificated employees.

Research Specialists

Specialists will have charge of the school testing program and other kinds of research and experimentation in which the system may be interested.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

Special Program Directors

Experts are needed to direct educational programs in several special areas. Specialists work with children with special learning handicaps such as the hard-of-hearing, the blind, the mentally retarded, the spastic, and the brain-damaged. School nurses, doctors, dentists, and administrators of special health programs are all part of large school systems. In addition, adult education programs are often found in many schools in a given system, whether it be large or small. These programs are often supervised by a specialist and staff working from the superintendent's office.

The kinds of services that a modern system provides are certainly extensive. With each generation new demands are made upon the school, with consequent addition of new personnel. A few decades ago the very idea of a school psychologist would have been considered ridiculous. With the increasing availability of automatic data-processing equipment, school systems will be able to do a great deal more research and also make more use of tests and test results, so that we can foresee an expansion in this area. If the recommendations of Dr. Conant²⁶ are taken seriously, we can envision a whole new era of vocational placement and training, employment follow-up, and other additional help provided the out-of-school adolescent.

PAYING FOR THE SCHOOLS

Whatever program a school may have costs money. Where is the money to

come from? In recent years, when everything seems to cost more, the costs of education, too, have increased enormously. Teachers' salaries in urban areas, for instance, have increased 191.5 percent between 1940-1941 and 1960-1961.²⁶ School construction costs, maintenance costs, salaries for administrative and supervisory personnel, costs of instructional materials—all these, too, are more expensive. And costs continue to rise.

In the last twenty years, total expenditures for the schools of our nation have greatly increased. In 1939-1940 we spent about \$2½ billion on education; in 1959-1960 the total was over \$15½ billion. Another way of looking at our expenditure for education is to consider this in terms of national income. Over a decade ago, in 1949-1950, we spent only 4.04 percent of the national income on education; ten years later the figure had risen to 6.16 percent of the national income, which is a 50 percent increase, as against an increase of 84 percent in the total national income itself during the same ten-year period. When considered in terms of population, the increase is also startling: in 1949-1950 the amount spent for education amounted to \$59 *per capita*; in 1959-1960 this had risen to \$136 *per capita*.²⁷

These figures point to a willingness on the part of the American people to increase their support of education by significant amounts. The question that faces us, of course, is whether the increases are sufficient to do the job needed and de-

²⁶ *NEA Research Bulletin*, 39:70 (October 1961).

²⁷ U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, *Progress in Public Education in the United States of America, 1960-61* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1961), pp. 23-24.

²⁵ James B. Conant, *Slums and Suburbs* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1961).

sired. For every increase in support, the figures come pouring in to indicate an ever-widening gap between what is available in terms of financial support for the schools and what is needed to give every child a quality program. To attract top talent to education, salaries must continually increase. To build schools to meet a growing population means a stepped-up program of school construction. With each passing year there is an increase in the kinds of instructional aids and services deemed essential for good education for all.

The costs of education become more specific when we talk in terms of the individual child. Adding everything spent on schools together and dividing by the total number of children in the public school educational program, we come to a national figure for 1959–1960 of \$476 spent per pupil in average daily attendance.²⁸ Although this is the average for the nation, states vary considerably. At the top of the scale is New York State, which spent \$726 per student in 1959–1960. At the bottom of the scale was South Carolina, which spent \$247 per student.²⁹

These wide variations between states may raise some questions in your mind as to what kind of education is provided by states spending more than \$700 per student and those spending a little less than \$250. Can they be compared? Are the differences between the educational programs as great as the monetary differences may seem to imply?

Not only are there these vast differences among states, but even within a state the local areas may do a very differ-

ent job of supporting education. In 1959–1960, in Virginia, for instance, on education below the college level, one county spent \$358 per pupil, whereas another spent \$38.³⁰

There are several questions we might raise at this point: Does spending more money really produce a commensurate increase in the quality of education? Where does the money come from? Who decides how much shall be spent?

It might seem obvious that the more money one spends on almost anything, the better the quality. This proposition has been widely challenged, however, when it comes to education. Since the major ingredient in the educational process is the teacher, some observers feel strongly that acquiring good teachers is all that is needed; other school costs are indefensible. A contrary view points out that getting and keeping good teachers, while basic to a good program, is only part of what goes into education. The many other services mentioned—supervision, materials and supplies, adequate buildings, and so on—are also expensive and also contribute to a quality educational program. A recent careful review of research that has attempted to relate numerous outcomes of education to the expenditures for the schools indicates that better education was more apt to occur in areas spending large amounts for education than in areas spending little for it. The research reviewed, however, indicated that money was not everything: more money does not *automatically* produce better schools. Where communities value education, where there is agreement as to what constitutes a good education, then the more money spent by such communities will bring returns in

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

²⁹ "The Case for Federal Support of Education," statement by the NEA in support of S. 1021 and H.R. 4870, March 1961, p. 6.

³⁰ *Washington Post*, November 5, 1961, p. B2.

quality.³¹ If one doubts this conclusion, it might be interesting to obtain cost figures from communities which spend different amounts on education and then attempt to determine which school systems are providing the best educational program.

The large variations in amount spent for the schools, and thus in the kind of school program available, arise from the fact that in most areas local boards of education make the major decisions regarding how much money shall be obtained for the schools.

Paying for the schools is a matter of local decision within limits established by each state. Each state establishes minimum standards for the schools, but each local school district can, if it wants to, provide more than the minimum for education. By raising taxes a school system can increase its financial support.

Thus, as in the case of Virginia, it is entirely possible for school districts in the same state to differ widely in the amount they spend for schools. The decision ultimately rests with the people. If the citizens in one school district agree to a tax raise for the schools, then more money is available from local sources. But the people can also refuse to raise taxes or refuse to approve the issuing of school bonds which provide money for the schools. A school board can also refuse to ask the public for additional school expenditures, and the voters can continue to elect such representatives. In the last analysis, then, the support for a good or a poor school program rests with the voters.

The most unusual fact about school finance is that most school boards are

fiscally independent of any other political unit. That is, they are able to operate as taxing units without consulting anyone except the next higher unit in the school administrative structure. In many states the school boards do not need to ask the local governmental agency whether or not to raise taxes or issue bonds. The limits upon the local school are usually those set by the state. The school budget may have to be approved by city councilmen, county commissioners, or other governmental units having budgetary power, but the fact that in most places the schools are fiscally independent means that matters of school finance can be decided by the local electorate quite apart from any other decisions regarding local taxation.

Gaining financial support for the schools is not easy, even in wealthy areas. There are few governmental expenditures which the people can vote upon directly, but in most school districts the people can indicate their approval or disapproval of increased expenditures for the schools. And where will the money come from? Out of the pockets of the taxpayers and citizens who reside in the area. It is hard to ask a person to raise his own taxes; yet this is exactly what must be done in many places in order to get enough income to run a satisfactory school system. Studying the sources for the support of the schools will help you understand this paradox.

The largest percentage of tax support for the schools comes from the local property tax. A property tax is a direct tax, very easily understood by the taxpayer when he gets his bill. In 1959 this bill amounted to \$130 per capita in California, \$133 in Massachusetts—to name two of the top states. In other states this tax amounts to as much as \$6 per \$100

³¹ Committee on Tax Education and School Finance, *Does Better Education Cost More?* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, March 1959).

of personal income—quite a large slice.³² And the average voter is understandably reluctant to vote to raise his own tax bill. In fact, studies of school elections concerned with school financing show that, in small- and medium-sized districts, the smaller the school vote the more likely the measure is to be approved. In other words, the more voters who turn out, the less likely it is that possible tax increases will be approved. Every additional increment of voter turnout produces more “no” votes. And the greater the amount of money paid locally for schools, the larger the voter interest in these elections, with relatively poor success for the support of the school budget.³³

In recent years schools have resorted increasingly to the device of issuing school bonds to finance their programs. A bond is a promissory note for the repayment of money borrowed. The school district agrees to repay the person who bought the bond (and thus contributed a sum to the school) within a stated period, with interest during that period for the use of the money. In order to obtain funds a school district must lose a certain percentage of this money in the form of interest. Yet, lacking adequate income from taxes, a school system often has no other resources, and eventually must repay the borrowed money in full. Bond issues are simply a device for taking care of large immediate needs but spreading the cost over a long period. When we buy a home on a mortgage

plan or a car on a time-payment arrangement we are financing our purchases in a similar way.

Like the financing of any major governmental service, school finance is a complicated and intricate problem. As a teacher you will doubtless be involved in discussions of school-bond elections or increases in taxes for the schools, as well as other questions. Your salary and the conditions under which you teach will be in large part determined by public approval of increased taxation in one form or another. In one city, for instance, a salary raise had been guaranteed the teachers. However, at the same time, a school election called for the purpose of increasing the tax rate had not passed, so expected new revenue was not available. The board of education had the tough problem of deciding whether to go back on its promise of raising salaries or to cut out some school services. It decided to do the latter. As a result, the teachers were better paid, but they had to ask students to provide every piece of needed material and equipment, even including toilet paper for the lavatories.

It seems that a relatively prosperous America should be able to afford all the money needed for education. Certainly our country can afford it if we decide not to put the money into something else. It is part of the teacher's responsibility to help today's students, who will be voting citizens shortly, to understand the significance and importance of schools that are adequately financed. Probably the best arguments for such schools are well-educated children, who, when they are parents, will understand and want an education of the same quality for their own children. The job we do today with students will be reflected in the decisions they make later as voters.

³² “The Case for Federal Support of Education,” *op. cit.*, p. 6.

³³ Richard F. Carter and William G. Savard, *Influence of Voter Turnout on School Bond and Tax Elections* (Cooperative Research Monograph No. 5, Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare; Washington, D.C.: 1961).

FINANCING EDUCATION IN OTHER COUNTRIES

It is interesting to note, in the area of school finance, that the way we do things in the United States is unique. Most other countries finance their schools through their national budget. Local groups have no say in how much will or will not be spent on schools; these decisions are made at the national level. A citizen who desires better schooling for his youngsters has only two recourses: to appeal to his parliamentary representative or to send his children to a private school. There may be distinct disadvantages in the American system of local control and local financing, but there are also some advantages. If as a parent you are dissatisfied with the quality of the education your child is receiving, there are two possibilities open to you: you can move into a school district that provides the kind of education you insist on, or you can help to organize local pressure for increased support for such a program.

Another significant contrast between our educational system and those found in other countries is the relative amount of the national budget spent for education. We spend relatively little, as has been pointed out. In 1959, for instance, it was estimated that between 10 and 15 percent of the total national income in Russia was spent on education. In many of the newly emerging countries, as much as one third of the national budget may go for educational efforts. True, such countries are trying to catch up with the others, after centuries of neglect, in as short a time as possible. In some of these there was virtually no general education for anyone until relatively recent years, and even today many cannot find qualified teachers nor build

enough schools to provide even the most meager education for their illiterate population. America is thus in a fortunate position. Yet as we read the record, we can ask if a country as rich as ours is really doing all it can to pay for the education its people want.

FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

In terms of amount of money spent, the cost of education has risen with each decade. How can we meet the problem of rising costs and local inequalities in ability or interest in supporting the schools? Many proposals are made each year for meeting the financial problems of the public schools. Among the most heatedly debated are those that call for some kind of federal aid to public education. As a matter of fact, the federal government already provides for some support for education.

Federal interest in education is evident in the Northwest Ordinance of 1785, a radical document which set aside lands in each developing area for the use of schools. Large grants of land were given to support universities and colleges in the new territories, and many states were also given the right to use for the support of education the funds derived from the leasing of federal lands within their borders. In addition, many other federal programs for education have developed over the years. Did you take a shop or a home economics course in high school? Federal funds have helped support such programs. As noted earlier, the school lunch program, utilizing surplus products, is another federal program. During World War II the federal government helped establish nursery schools and day-care centers so that women could work

in needed defense jobs. The GI bill, giving the veteran an opportunity to continue his education interrupted by war service, could not have been successful without extensive federal expenditures. The U.S. Office of Education is supported by federal funds and provides many kinds of services to education: research studies, consultant help, publication of statistics, and so forth. The federal government runs schools for overseas dependents of service personnel in many parts of the world and also supports schools in territories governed by the United States. Obviously, the federal government is already in the business of education. Many observers believe that the federal government needs to do a great deal more. The arguments on either side are quite persuasive. The arguments for federal aid are, briefly, these:

1. The task of education is too great for any locality to undertake in its entirety, particularly since local tax sources are limited.
2. Only on the national level can inequalities in education be removed. Since Americans are so mobile, poor education in one area affects progress in another and thus becomes a national concern.
3. If the federal government can support massive road development and general social welfare programs, it is certainly appropriate for the government to support education, which is even more basic to national progress.

The arguments against:

1. Where federal money is used, federal control will follow, and thus local initiative and local programs will be tied to federal directives.

2. It is not fair to have wealthy states, in effect, pay for the education of children in poorer states.
3. Education rightly is a state function, and by keeping it a state function primarily we can be ensured against any all-powerful federal dictatorship.

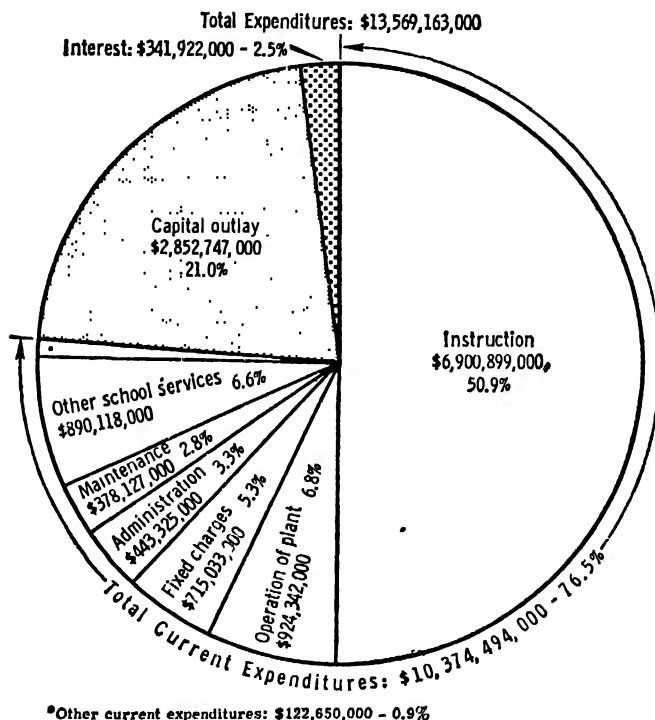
These arguments define some, but not all, of the issues. One of the major roadblocks to federal aid has been the question whether the money can be used, in any way, for financing private and parochial schools as well as public schools. It has been pointed out that the precedent of the GI bill, which gave the money to the individual student, was an indirect way of supporting nonpublic educational institutions. Perhaps, it is argued, a similar pattern could be established for general federal aid to the common schools. Or such aid could be for school construction, rather than for such crucial factors as teachers' salaries. In this way federal control would be minimal and not in any sense directed toward controlling what is taught. Yet even here, it might be argued, control could occur to the extent that federal money was or was not used, for instance, for closed-circuit television, or for auditoriums, or for swimming pools. When does support lead to control? On the other hand, it would seem that parochial educators should be keenly aware of the fact that for any agency of government to interfere directly with parochial school education would breach the wall separating church and state. Therefore, the long-term effects of federal aid to parochial schools might well be to weaken the very purposes for which these schools were originally established. The current impasse over this crucial issue has pointed

out a deep division in the American mind and heart. There are bitterness and acrimony on both sides.

Both public opinion and professional judgment are divided on the subject of federal aid. Each year bills are introduced in Congress for some kind of federal support. Yet each year, up to the time of this writing, broad-scale federal sup-

WHERE DOES THE MONEY GO?

It will be gratifying to any newcomer to the teaching profession to know that teachers get at least 50 percent of the average school's budget. In addition, a good share of that budget is spent on seeing that the teacher has the pencils, paper, paint, basketballs, test tubes, sew-



SUMMARY OF EXPENDITURES FOR PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS: 48 STATES AND DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, 1957-1958.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, *Progress in Public Education in the United States of America, 1960-1961* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1961), p. 27.

Note: Because of rounding, detail may not add to totals.

port for general education has either failed to pass Congress or to be approved by the President.

Providing the money to run our vast school enterprise is an enormous burden, whether it be provided from federal or local funds! The extent to which we are able to provide it for the kind of education we need will determine our ability to continue as a leader among the nations of the world.

ing machines, supplementary books, or whatever, that are considered necessary for his teaching program.

According to the latest figures issued by the U.S. Office of Education the educational pie is sliced in the manner shown in the above diagram.

Noticeable is the large proportion of the school budget expended on capital outlay, the money needed to build new schools. A study of the population pre-

dictions for the United States tells the school story better than anything else. Not only will there be more children, but there will be more students entering and staying in the secondary schools. Secondary schools are expensive. A modern high school costs around three million dollars. Even a good junior high school can cost that much. And with more students than ever going to high school and staying through the twelfth year, the schools must be built to accommodate them with the gyms, laboratories, shops, music rooms, libraries, and all the other special-facility rooms needed for a comprehensive high school program.

Is the money well spent? What would you think the school budget could best be spent on? Each teacher, in whatever field, is convinced that his own special area is not given enough attention. Each teacher can think of things that would help him do a better instructional job. One of the big problems in education today is setting priorities.

THE TEACHER AND THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

What does the school board, the superintendent and his staff, the state department of education, and problems of school finance mean to the individual teacher? These various aspects of school organization are, obviously, important to the teacher. Having a comfortable salary, teaching in a modern, well-equipped building, being able to call on a variety of local and state services, having a school board which provides wise direction to educational development are all vitally important to the individual teacher. Some of these aspects of the school system are of more immediate concern than others.

The school board is fairly remote, but the superintendent and his staff come close to the daily teaching task of the teacher.

The individual teacher will have some dealings with many members of the superintendent's staff. He will receive reports from the school psychologists regarding difficult students in his class and he may also have consultations with these specialists. He will make use of the audio-visual specialists. He will most certainly be visited by the school supervisor assigned to his school or his subject area. If he teaches an adult evening class, he will, of course, know the adult education staff. He may invite the health supervisor to talk to one of his classes. He may be asked to work with the transportation supervisor in working out codes of behavior for the students who use the school busses. Thus the individual teacher, depending on his interests and needs, may find himself often working with and consulting the staff of experts in the office of the superintendent.

In many well-staffed school systems the individual teacher may receive a good deal of supervision. The principal may visit the classroom of a beginning teacher fairly often. He will be looking for ways to help the new teacher and does not consider his role one of trying to find out everything that is going wrong. Similarly, the supervisory staff will work with the beginning teacher very closely, their major purpose being to give help and support whenever they are needed. It is the experience of field personnel that the college graduate who has a certificate to teach is only well started on the road to becoming a competent teacher. The many specific problems that arise in the school and classroom cannot possibly be foreseen by previous educational prep-

aration. The in-service education of teachers is one of the major efforts of supervisory personnel in any good school system.

One of the more pressing questions asked by prospective teachers concerns the amount and kind of freedom enjoyed by the classroom teacher. The preceding pages have drawn attention to a system of control devices, formal and informal, that define and sometimes limit what the teacher can and cannot do. Within this structure, however, the American teacher probably enjoys more freedom than a comparable teacher almost anywhere else in the world. There is a strong tradition in American life relating to academic freedom. By this is meant the right of a teacher to express his own fundamental beliefs, based on his reflections, research, and experience, regarding the subject he is teaching. The teacher is considered to be a person who can be trusted to seek out the truth and is protected in his right to speak the truth as he sees it from the vantage point of his superior scholarship and dedication to the truth. These very important and significant freedoms are lacking in the dictatorships of the left or the right in countries around the world.

Yet even in a democracy which prizes the fundamental freedom of the individual to his own ideas of right and wrong, and his freedom to speak out as his conscience dictates, it is often hard to apply these principles to the classroom teacher. Here is a situation where a powerful and important adult can impress young minds. Should he be completely free to do and say what he wishes? That ideas are potentially dangerous is attested to by the strict control exercised by dictatorships over all educational institutions and media of com-

munication. We are not free of that fear ourselves. The loyalty oaths which teachers take in many states point to a residual fear of the power of dissident ideas, particularly if expressed to the young.

The organized teaching profession has been most insistent on tenure for the individual teacher in order to protect his freedom to express new ideas. Then the teacher may be free to express ideas which may not always be exactly what the most potent group in town approves, or which may be contrary to the views of some minority group with an articulate spokesman. Certainly the teacher must be protected against such persons. How could society progress otherwise? Yet tenure does not protect the teacher from outright subversive acts or pronouncements. The line between unpopular views and subversive views has never been easy to draw. In these days it becomes even more difficult, as the "Lonesome Train" episode previously cited illustrates.

In other ways the individual teacher has a great deal of freedom. More than that, he participates in many of the professional activities of his local school system. Committees of teachers typically review and decide upon textbooks. Teachers are active in developing new courses of study, revising old ones, preparing new curriculum materials. Through their professional organizations, they participate in many ways in the work of improving educational programs. In many school systems this kind of participation is encouraged by giving teachers free days for such professional activities. It is felt that the more teachers take part in helping to improve education the more likely they will be to adopt newer and better practices.

Of most immediate concern to the individual teacher is the principal with whom he will work, the other administrators in the school, his fellow faculty members, and the children and their parents.

SUMMARY

One of the hardest tasks this volume has undertaken is to try to characterize and describe the American school system, because it is really not a system at all but a collection of thousands of school districts having some features that are similar but many that are not. We have not only public schools, but private and parochial schools—three systems set up in very different ways.

Unique to American education is this diversity of local school programs. In addition, this diversity is guaranteed by our reliance on local lay boards of education, typically elected by the people, to determine public school policies. However, not only do state departments of education in most states have something to say about local schools; they are also increasing their power over such local programs. But even state boards of education are made up of lay personnel.

The local board of education delegates to professional educators, however, the daily task of implementing its policies. The chief school officer in most districts is the superintendent, and he in turn hires specialists to help him and the teachers in the district. Not only are schools locally run; they are locally financed. States and districts within states vary widely in their ability to support adequate educational programs. The teacher, of course, is vitally concerned with how well the school board sets policy, as well

as with how wise the superintendent will be and how much freedom the teacher will have in the classroom.

In each area of school organization and support we run into major issues. What is the relation of religious doctrines and organized religious groups to public education? How shall the schools be financed? Shall federal money be provided? If so, what, if any, controls need be exercised?

These problems will not be easily solved. They require the active understanding of both the public and educators because American schools are truly the schools the public wants.

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10

What the Schools Teach: The Curriculum of Modern Education

What is it that happens in a classroom? Teachers teach and students learn. True, but also not true. Do students learn what the teacher teaches, or do students learn less, or more, or different things? Is the subject the teacher intends to teach the subject he really teaches? These questions suggest the difficulty of trying to understand the concept of "curriculum."

The curriculum is a very fluid and dynamic thing. There is no single curriculum. There is the curriculum set down and organized on paper as a course of study. There is the curriculum the teacher actually teaches, which may not be what is set down in the course of

study. Each teacher selects what he wants to stress, what he thinks is useful and important. In this process, incidentally, the teacher may not even know he is making a selection, but the very tone of his voice, the inflection, and the emphasis tell the students the content the teacher considers worth remembering. Then there is the student's curriculum; that is, events which impinge upon the student and which he may be learning, whether they are in the course of study or the textbook or not. The student, for instance, may be sitting in a seventh-grade English class. The teacher's curriculum calls for an exposition of the differences between simple and complex sentences. The student's curriculum—what the student is actually learning—is that girls do better at this sort of task than boys, that some ball-point pens can be taken apart and put back together and others cannot, that there are exactly ten panes of glass in each window, or that there are three flies in the room. The student's curriculum at any given moment or period may be quite different from the teacher's.

How we can make the school curriculum, the teacher's curriculum, and the student's curriculum coincide is one of the major tasks of education. Herein lies the real art and challenge of educational statesmanship and teaching skill.

THE MEANING OF CURRICULUM

The term "curriculum" is simply a name for the organized pattern of the school's educational program. A complete description of the curriculum has at least three components: (1) *what* it studies—the "content" or "subject matter" of instruction—(2) *how* the study and teaching are done—the "method" of instruction—and (3) *when*

the various subjects are presented—the order of instruction.¹

The people of every society are confronted by the problem of inducting the immature members into their culture, that is, into the ways of the group. The individual at birth is a cultural barbarian, in that he has none of the habits, ideas, attitudes, and skills that characterize the members of the society. . . . In literate societies instruction in group ways becomes partly a specialized function. An institution—the school—charged with responsibility for teaching certain things is created, and certain persons are designated teachers to operate the school. A sequence of potential experiences is set up in the school for the purpose of disciplining children and youth in group ways of thinking and acting. This set of experiences is referred to as the *curriculum*.²

Dewey stated in *My Pedagogic Creed* (1897):

As regards the curriculum, "the social life of the child" should be taken as "the basis of concentration or correlation—not science, nor literature, nor history, nor geography." . . . Then follows the crux of the Dewey School curriculum: "the only way to make the child conscious of his social heritage is to enable him to perform those fundamental types of activity which make civilization what it is. . . . There is . . . no succession of studies in the ideal school curriculum. If education is life, all life has from the outset a scientific aspect, an aspect of art and culture, and an aspect of communication. It cannot, therefore, be true that the proper studies of one grade are mere reading and writing, and that at a later grade, reading, or literature, or science, may be introduced. The progress is not in the succession of studies, but in the development of new attitudes towards,

and new interests in, reconstruction of experience."³

Definitions of curriculum are as varied as the kinds of persons making them. The range is wide. The dictionary states that the curriculum is a course, and, from the Latin source, a course which is to be *run*—or *covered*, as we say in teaching.⁴ This definition is a far distance from the definition John Dewey expressed: that the school curriculum is life itself, and thus there can be no prescribed course to be run.

Despite the differences, most educators would tend to agree with both Phenix and Smith, Stanley, and Shores in the quotations given here. The essential element is the deliberate selection of those things deemed critical by the society for the induction of the young into adult status. Literate societies tend more and more toward formality in the school as an institution, and they do not depend on the informal curriculum which father would pass on to son as in a nonliterate society. According to Phenix, the curriculum must be seen as the educational program, including *what* is taught, *how* it is taught, and *when* it is taught.

This latter definition leaves much room for elaboration. Some educators have stretched this definition to encompass everything that happens in the school, whether thought of as formally educational or not. Thus the school building itself becomes part of the curriculum. The schools where there are lobby dis-

¹ Philip Phenix, *Philosophy of Education* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1958), p. 57.

² B. Othanel Smith, William O. Stanley, and J. Harlan Shores, *Fundamentals of Curriculum Development* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1950), p. 4.

³ William H. Kilpatrick, "Dewey's Influence on Education," in Paul Arthur Schilpp (Ed.), *The Philosophy of John Dewey* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1939), pp. 462–463. (Quotations from John Dewey's writing as noted in context.)

⁴ Funk and Wagnalls, *New College Standard Dictionary* (1947).

plays, showcases with student work exhibited, and hall bulletin boards give evidence of an acceptance of this extended view of the curriculum. The colors used, the lighting and heating, and the noise control exercised are considered part of the curriculum, since they too may extend or inhibit learning.

The so-called extracurricular activities of the school are often called cocurricular to emphasize the fact that they also play a significant part in student learning.

It is apparent, then, that many educators view the curriculum as considerably more extensive than the lay public views it, if the dictionary can be said to represent this view. The term "life space" has been used by some educators to make clear the role of the total environment in the education of the child. It is thus hard to distinguish *content* apart from all the experiences which impinge on the student in the school. This broad view of the curriculum dispenses with the old dichotomy regarding which is more important, content or method—academic knowledge or teaching competence. Just as education cannot take place without a learner, so the curriculum cannot be chopped into *what* is to be learned as against *when* and *how* it is to be learned.

This broad definition of curriculum was most clearly enunciated by John Dewey. It was exemplified in the kind of curriculum he attempted in his experimental laboratory school at the University of Chicago in the 1890's. Here students studied whatever interested them, and these interests—with teacher help and guidance—grew and were pursued ever more extensively and deeply. Wherever the interests led, children were encouraged to go, even when the study led far beyond the classroom or school. Subject matter lines were disregarded because

interest and curiosity do not know such distinctions. Drill, memorizing, rote learning were supplanted by activities and projects. The school, furthermore, was to exemplify democratic relationships; it was not to be preparation for adult democratic practices: the school had to be democratic itself.

Dewey has been condemned and attacked for every weakness or failure in American education, though giving him this much credit goes beyond the evidence. However, we can certainly say that his writing and teaching touched a deep current in American life, with the result that education was markedly affected. The curriculum, both content and method, reflect Dewey's influence. We study children's interests and utilize them to motivate learning. We further establish points of readiness for new learning by observing children's behavior. We utilize as much of the immediate environment as we can as a source of new learning and also as a bridge between the here and now and the remote and distant. We are deeply conscious of democratic human relations in the classroom and school, and the significance of the way in which children are treated in school and their eventual behavior as adults in society.

The curriculum as it is considered today, then, is far more than a mere statement of a course of study. It is a complex of many items, some of which can be put in writing, and some of which exist in the educational atmosphere created by a given teacher with a given group of students in a particular school setting. A sensitive teacher knows that what is in the textbook, what is written down in the teacher's guide or the outline of the course, is only a small part of the curriculum.

Knowing this, we can more readily understand the perplexity of the average lay person who asks, "Don't they teach spelling in the schools anymore?" And the answer might well be, "Yes, we teach spelling, but the students are learning many other things." In earlier generations, a child who did not learn what was taught had only one choice—to leave school. Or if he did not like what he was expected to learn, he could leave. Today, the child and his parents have no such choice. He must go to school and learn *something*. But just as no one can digest another's food for him, so no one can do another's learning. Our great task, then, is to bring together the learner and what we hope he will learn so that they coincide in terms of achieved outcomes.

SOURCES OF THE CURRICULUM

Even though the total environment of the child is his curriculum, there is much that the school can do about influences, such as providing esthetically stimulating classrooms as against ugly or distracting ones, but an important distinction must be made. *The proper and unique function of the school is to convey and make available to learners those knowledges and skills that our society deems important for children and youth to acquire.* Furthermore, this leads inescapably to the conclusion that the orientation of education is intellectual. The school alone is charged with the task of dealing with things of the mind: ideas. The mind cannot be dissociated from nonintellectual influences, such as feelings and emotions and physiological states, and these are factors of which the school must be aware. But this awareness of all the other influences upon the learner and what he

will learn takes place, in fact, *after* we have sorted out and identified and put in order the content of learning—the intellectual content.

A look at the history of education shows that most of the actual content of education was inherited. Schools always taught this and that, so they continued to do so. Change was very slow. Non-functional subjects were modified or dropped slowly. Other subjects were added reluctantly, often decades or even centuries after their social need was apparent. Not until the early part of this century, with the development of the scientific study of man, did we begin to make some self-conscious decisions about what ought to be taught. The debate has raged ever since.

The Seven Cardinal Principles of Education can be said to mark the new era in education. These principles, published in 1918, state not only the purposes of education, but also clearly state what the curriculum should include. Although these principles applied originally to the curriculum of the secondary school, they also express the general philosophy of the scope of the common school. The school, according to the Committee of Ten, which developed the Seven Cardinal Principles, should strive to educate a youth in health, command of fundamental processes, worthy home membership, vocation, citizenship, worthy use of leisure time, and ethical character. Here, then, was one statement of the scope of education. The principles identify what subject matter should be included—and not very much is excluded.

If *scope* is important, what about sequence, the order in which learnings must occur? Curriculum development moved ahead as educators began to see that what were needed were decisions

along two axes of the chart—*what* should be taught, and *when* it should be taught. Under the leadership of Hollis L. Caswell of Teachers College, Columbia University, scope and sequence studies were inaugurated. One of the most famous was that developed for the state of Virginia during the 1930's. Here was spelled out the content appropriate for the school, and the level at which each segment should be taught. The underlying philosophy of this procedure indicated two major bases for curriculum selection: the needs of the individual in society, and the developmental stage of the child. Thus scope included not just the traditional subject matter, but that subject matter as seen in terms of social reality and understanding, and what was to be taught was specified in terms of what was accepted as known about the general level of readiness of children at any given age level.

The Virginia curriculum of the 1930's is the grandfather of much that is done today. We have become more knowledgeable about children and the idea of "developmental tasks" as described elsewhere in this book. We have had to modify our notions about social reality, also, because the world of the child is far different today from what it was in the pre-TV, pre-Sputnik era.

A recent re-examination of the basis upon which the curriculum could and should be organized was sparked by a report of a conference of scholars regarding the way in which science might better be taught. In his report of the conference Bruner states: ". . . any subject can be taught effectively in some intellectually honest form to any child at any stage of development."⁵

He continues:

The task of teaching a subject to a child at any particular age is one of representing the structure of that subject in terms of the child's way of viewing things. The task can be thought of as one of translation. The general hypothesis that has just been stated is premised on the considered judgment that any idea can be represented honestly and usefully in the thought forms of children of school age, and that these first representations can later be made more powerful and precise the more easily by virtue of this early learning.⁶

This thesis of Bruner's, supported eloquently and with engaging examples, has encouraged many to question the standard level at which much material is presented to students. In Bruner's terms, there is no reason at all to wait until the eighth or ninth grade to introduce a child to algebra. If we knew enough about how children learn, and how algebra is organized as a system of knowledge, then the subject could be presented in the first grade in *some fashion*. Later, as the child gets different and more pieces of it, he will have learned it more adequately, and thus have much more extensive competence in later life.

This is indeed a tempting proposition and well worth consideration. One experimenter is teaching children to write (using a typewriter) at age three or four. Another is teaching reading at a similarly early age. Some of the significant insights of geometry are being presented to primary-grade children, and so on.

A critical reaction to the implications of Bruner's proposition is made by Caswell, who raises some serious points.

from *The Process of Education* by Jerome Seymour Bruner. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, Copyright, 1960, by the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵ Reprinted by permission of the publishers

First, he asks, do the scholars in any given discipline really know the underlying structure of their field sufficiently well to be able to translate it into teachable terms? Caswell points out how often there is fundamental disagreement among members of any discipline regarding what makes up the content of the area and what basic organizing principles are involved. Second, Caswell asks if just because a child *can* learn something at an early age, are we justified in teaching it to him? Often the child who learns to read at an early age is overtaken in competency by those who learn to read later. We have no evidence to date, either, that learning the subject earlier does really lead to more advanced or more adequate learning later. Third, Caswell questions why we want to push young people to ever earlier achievement:

Why all this pressure on children? Do we place them under special strain so that they may that much sooner have heart attacks or emotional difficulties? Are we trading four or five years of retirement before it is required by waning physical strength and occupational effectiveness for one or two years of high pressure childhood with the range of educational and cultural opportunities limited below what they might otherwise be? If lifetime productivity is considered, may it not be far better for children to have a more leisurely approach to learning so that they really can savor it, and have, when they are adults, a later age of retirement? Often, I feel sure, children in elementary and secondary school work the longest days and longest weeks of anyone in their homes.⁷

While the problem has been restated in modern terms, the questions still re-

main the eternal ones which all educators and interested citizens must face: *what* shall we teach, to *whom*, *when*, *how*, and *why* shall we teach it? Down the centuries, in every civilization, these have been the questions variably answered, but still the same; and we can predict that these questions, like all those that are of enduring significance for mankind, will require different answers in each succeeding era.

FORCES THAT MOLD THE CURRICULUM

The curriculum is, first, the result of legislation. Many things that are taught, and even the level at which they are taught, are spelled out in laws that govern the operation of schools. Second, the schools will teach many things in response to local wants and needs. Because of local sentiments, the valor of Lee may be stressed over the strategic genius of Grant; one area may be allergic to discussions of public versus private power, while another may feel strongly on the subject of unions versus management. Thus the curriculum is molded by local public opinion.

In recent years, critics with a national audience have been influential in affecting curriculum decisions. Such persons as Arthur Bestor, Admiral Hyman Rickover, Robert Maynard Hutchins, John Hersey, and Dr. James Conant, to mention only a few, have taken stands on curricular issues and have strongly suggested the answers they favor. Less well-known persons, but of great influence among educators, include such social scientists as David Reisman, William H. Whyte, Margaret Mead, and Lawrence Kubie, each of whom in terms of his

⁷ Hollis L. Caswell, "Difficulties in Defining the Structure of the Curriculum," in A. Harry Passow (Ed.), *Curriculum Crossroads* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1962), p. 110.

own discipline and view of the social scene has some critical comments to make about the educational program.

Another significant pressure on the curriculum comes from the social reality around us. In a time of frenetic technological change, such as is occurring in the computer and automation advances of industry today, the schools face educational demands that are unique to this time. Adult education is called upon to retrain workers for entirely new kinds of positions, or doom them to unemployment. The effect of Russian excellence in outer space has placed unprecedented pressure on all levels of schooling to make mathematical and scientific understandings more general, and to raise the level of competence of the most able in these areas as fast as possible. The vastly increased travel of Americans abroad and the extensive programs of aid and information engaged in by the government of the United States have made it necessary for the ordinary citizen to be better informed about the world he lives in and also more able to converse with people in a foreign language. The rapidly expanding programs in foreign language instruction are a response to such drastic new views of society and its needs.

But the curriculum is not infinitely flexible. After a certain point the school day is full. Then anything else added means that something else must be removed or slighted. The struggle of curriculum personnel today—all teachers in the last analysis—is that of achieving balance. To teach well *all* that ought to be taught to *all* children and youth and also to teach what is helpful but not crucial involves everyone in a continual process of judgment and decision making. Would you say it more important to teach

understanding of other cultures or Hamlet? Should time be spent on helping youngsters to understand how to budget or to learn the definitions of latitude and longitude? Example after example can be cited to illustrate the kinds of choices curriculum workers face as they struggle with tremendously increasing cultural and factual resources while they view a school day that remains the same size.

We can agree that the unique task of the school is an intellectual one, but can we agree as to what knowledge is of the most worth? This question was raised by Herbert Spencer over a hundred years ago and has been restated by Robert S. Lynd in modern terms.⁸ We still have to ask the question over again for *this* generation.

PATTERNS OF CURRICULUM ORGANIZATION

The curriculum or course of study can be organized in a number of different ways. The most familiar way of organizing the curriculum is the traditional one, supposedly based on the inherent logic of the subject. In history, one would follow a strict chronological order: the years and centuries and eons march in orderly progression through the student's year of study. Or a course of study may be organized sequentially, as in Euclidian geometry, in which one theorem logically succeeds a preceding theorem. Or in terms of the acquisition of skills, learning the position of the keys of the typewriter before learning how to type

⁸ Herbert Spencer, "What Knowledge Is of the Most Worth?" *Westminster Review*, July, 1859. Robert S. Lynd, *Knowledge for What?* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1939).

words, learning how to sew a seam before learning how to sew a skirt or a blouse. The assumption is that each subject has a logical sequence of learning blocks. The teacher's task is to present each block clearly and explicitly. Then as more blocks are added, the structure of the subject grows and takes on meaning.

Then there is another way of looking at the curriculum. This is to view learning through the psychological structure of the learner. What makes sense to the student? Where is he in term of the subject? Knowing that adolescent boys are interested in mechanics and sports, a history teacher might start his course in world history with a look at the modern version of the Olympic games. After winning the interest of the class, he might raise the question as to the origin of these games. This might lead to a look at the ancient Greeks. He would then suggest other modern activities the roots of which lie far remote in time. Thus he launches a study of world history, though keeping the focus at each point upon some contemporary event. When he wanted to look into the causes of the French Revolution, he would select some contemporary revolutionary movement (with many new nations appearing on the scene he probably would have little trouble) and then raise questions regarding revolutions in general and eventually end with a close look at the French Revolution.

Another kind of curriculum pattern having a similar base in the psychological "readiness" of students can be seen in the elementary school classroom where the teacher utilizes the current interests of youngsters in order to teach reading skills. Perhaps there was a great snow storm which closed the schools for a few days. When the children return they are bub-

bling with stories about what adventures their families went through during this winter crisis. The teacher lets them talk. Then she suggests they write a story about their adventures. In a first grade this might be a group story with the whole class contributing phrases and words. In the third or the fifth grade this might be an individual project in writing so that children gain skill in a basic tool.

Another way of organizing the curriculum is around the predetermined needs of students in our particular culture. This pattern often sounds like the psychologically based approach noted above except that in this case teachers and curriculum experts have studied the age group to be taught and have concluded that certain key skills, ideas, knowledge, and attitudes are essential parts of students' educational needs. The curriculum is then designed to help the youngsters gain such educational increments. One urgent need of the six-year-old is to learn to be a co-operating member of a class group. The curriculum design would include discussion of how hard it sometimes is to sit still in school. The child of ten has a tremendous interest in active play and sports. The curriculum logically includes instruction in team games or study of the American Indians. During the junior high years special instruction would be provided regarding the physiological changes of puberty and the facts of the differential growth rates of individuals. Instead of waiting for student interest to manifest itself, this approach utilizes all that is now known about child growth and development and attempts to peg subject matter appropriately.

Some subjects lend themselves to organizing by major problems or recurring issues or central questions. In social studies, for instance, how man provides

for his basic needs can be the unifying problem center for a study of world cultures in the sixth grade. How do people find shelter in the Amazon Valley, at the Arctic Circle, in Switzerland, in India? How man developed means of transporting needed goods can lead a class to studying the possible source of the first wheel, the first dugout canoe, the dramatic effect of the development of navigational aids on exploration during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the revolution in transportation of steam, of the gasoline engine, of electricity, of atomic power—the possibilities are legion. In literature the central problems might center around the various communication needs: speaking, listening, writing, reading. In science they might center around the key questions relevant to that discipline: What is matter? What is force? What is power? What is light? What is sound?

ORGANIZATION CHANGES IN CURRICULUM

There probably appears to you to be a most logical way to organize the subject you know best, but the reason you feel this way may be that the subject has been presented to you in just this fashion. You feel comfortable with a chronological approach to history, for instance. And many of the ways in which the curriculum is organized by the individual teacher reflect his own feelings of comfort with a particular pattern of ideas or skills. Certainly there are important reasons why teachers should feel comfortable with the teaching approach they are using. Using a different approach could easily throw a teacher into confusion or panic with little discernible learning on the part of the students, who would also

be confused. On the other hand, the curriculum and methods of teaching must change continuously and must vary according to different situations and even localities. Furthermore, students learn by different means. Some are highly verbal and are facile with abstractions. Others are able to work only with data which can be felt, smelled, manipulated. A vivid description of how students can vary in terms of ways of learning is given by Riessman in a brilliant analysis of the culturally deprived child:

The underprivileged child has a cognitive style or way of learning that includes a number of features that have unique creative potential: his skill in nonverbal communication (he is not word-bound), his proclivity for persisting along one line (one-track creativity), his induction emphasis on many concrete examples, and his colorful free associative feeling for metaphor in language, perhaps best seen in his use of slang. These potentialities, indigenous to his cultural heritage, must be fully explored in any program concerned with developing talent among underprivileged groups.⁹

Thus, to meet the different kinds of students we have, varied approaches to content must be devised.

Another rather different reason for change in curriculum organization might also be considered, and it goes back again to the teacher as a person. To avoid professional boredom a teacher should often change his way of teaching, the way he organizes what he teaches. There can be few things more stultifying for both teacher—and learner—than to have the same material presented in the same way year after year. And there can be few vocations more exciting than teaching when one considers the challenge of finding,

⁹ Frank Riessman, *The Culturally Deprived Child* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), p. 115.

each year, a different way of teaching essentially the same content. The mental health of the teacher is infinitely better when he sees each group of students, each year of teaching, as "new." One professor was observed taking notes *after* he had finished a brilliant lecture. When asked why, he said that he was making notes on what he had said this year so that next year he would know what not to say! He intended, he explained, to find another approach to the subject. Such a practice would do much to keep all teachers from grades one through twelve alive and watchful, with the spark of adventure ready to share its light with those who come near.

REGIONAL VARIATIONS IN THE CURRICULUM

There are three major reasons why the organization of the content of courses varies relatively little from place to place. First, the people who design the curriculum tend to borrow from each other's experiences. That is, if a new program in art is initiated in one city, other art people will write for the bulletins and curriculum guides. They will look these over, compare them with similar materials received from other school systems, re-evaluate their own program, and then incorporate the most promising ideas from the practices of the other cities. Second, the kinds of materials and teaching aids available will limit a teacher's efforts. If no textbooks are available that provide the organizing framework for a given approach to the subject, it is a rare teacher who will try to follow a path he has to carve for himself. Most of the curriculum—what is actually taught

in the classroom—depends upon the available teaching materials.

According to elementary and secondary school principals, the most common teaching aid used by schools is the textbook. Since textbooks are designed for a national market, they typically reflect the procedures and approaches most commonly found. A textbook which pioneers too far from standard practice may find itself an unsold commodity. Care is taken in writing texts not to offend any group in any region of the country, since this, too, might interfere with sales.

A third factor which tends to make for common programs, despite our greatly decentralized system, is the impact of national standardized achievement and college entrance examinations. These influences are most significant at the secondary level, but elementary programs are also affected by the expectations of the next higher educational level. The numbers of students taking college board examinations and college achievement and aptitude tests has increased vastly over the last ten years. Schools which fail to provide adequate background for their students in terms of achievement on such tests are apt to hear from irate parent groups. Schools which produce many merit scholars are given national recognition, which is a valuable community asset. A good grounding in the fundamental skills of thinking and learning in the elementary schools is essential for later achievement in high school, and thus good standing as measured by the tests. So the pressure to mold the curriculum to the kinds of learning measured by the tests tends to make for many common elements.

Is this good or bad? This is an issue you will want to reflect on. On the one hand, because of the high mobility of

our population, there are strong reasons why the curriculum might be more standardized than it is. A child who moves from the fifth grade in Kalamazoo to the fifth grade in San Diego will certainly be handicapped if he finds few common elements in the course of study. Similarly, a student who starts algebra in Boston and then moves to Seattle will probably expect to pick up the algebra on the West Coast at much the same place where he left it on the East Coast. The distress of parents who find their child at a disadvantage in school in a new community is quite understandable.

On the other hand, the vitality of American education has come in large part from our lack of a national program, with its resultant rigidity of requirements. As one notes in foreign educational systems, any change in national curriculums is difficult because all schools are going to be affected, and the schools therefore tend to incorporate new knowledge and new ideas relatively slowly. In the United States a school district can experiment with an innovation and in so doing touch relatively few schools. The variations in financial support for the schools inevitably mean that some can do more than others, if only because they can attract and keep better and more creative teachers and provide more teaching materials and aids.

The question about a national program always raises the next issue: Who shall decide who will plan such a program and see that it is carried out? Our intense suspicion of federal control over education makes it unlikely that national curriculums will soon be developed. The alternative is the formation of groups of educational leaders who would agree on a national framework for a given program, a school level, or content areas. As we

will see shortly, there are some national programs already in existence which have resulted from the efforts of just such national groups. Interested educators and others would like to see these efforts increased and supported. Still open, however, are the questions of the extent we wish to move toward common schooling and the extent we want to retain the autonomy of the individual school district in the area of the curriculum.

RECENT CURRICULUM TRENDS

Language Arts

The term "language arts" may need explanation. "Why," we are often asked, "do educators insist on making up fancy words for things when the plain old-fashioned ones would do just as well?" The term "language arts" is a good example. Why not call it reading, writing, spelling, English, grammar? Actually, the term "language arts" does include all these activities, but it also includes some others. For instance, listening, creative writing, drama, journalism, public speaking, debate, and discussion are to be found in some language arts programs. All of them are aspects of communication. Some educators feel that viewing movies and television are also communication skills in the sense that one is learning from these media and should understand more of the process involved. The concept of "communication" is used as an organizing principle. In this view, whatever is taught in language arts is an aspect of communicating something to someone or receiving a communication from someone or something.

Issues are lively in the language arts field. The first and perhaps most familiar

is the matter of beginning reading. Not only is the approach to reading under question, but the age at which reading should properly start. The early exposure of the child to reading includes two basic elements: translating the heard word to the written symbol and in turn "hearing" the sound of the written symbol so that it makes sense. Instruction in "phonics" helps the child identify similar sounds in parts of words so that when these letter combinations appear in new words they can sound out the different pieces and identify the word. The "word recognition" approach provides the child with a basic vocabulary of memorized words that he knows because he has seen them in relation to the objects to which they refer. Critics of the schools complain that if reading were taught by the phonic method then children would be better readers. The proponents of the "word recognition" approach claim that until the child has a basic sight vocabulary it is wasteful to work on phonics. The compromise position, which appears to be the one found in the schools today, utilizes the approach to reading which makes sense in terms of the child's readiness. Phonics are taught when they are going to be useful to the child. Given a language like English, which is only partially phonetic, word recognition is also necessary.

The age at which reading instruction should begin is now being debated. Some experimenters have been able to teach very young children to read by several methods. Certainly some children are ready and able to read earlier than others. Child development specialists report that the eye must achieve a certain physiological state before focusing on the written word can be accomplished easily and without strain. Studies indicate that girls mature in this respect earlier than boys.

Studies also show that many "late readers" often catch up with "early readers" quite rapidly. The pressure to push many learnings down the age ladder has resulted in some beginning reading instruction now appearing in a few kindergartens. This trend is vigorously opposed by most kindergarten teachers. They claim that too early pressure will produce more reading problems than we now have.

Another issue has to do with reading materials. There are advocates of a "basal" reader and those who favor the "individualized reading" approach. The basal reader refers to a standardized text or, more typically, a graded series of reading texts which all the children will progress through, though some may go faster than others. These graded series of readers, and there are a number of them, are based on intensive research into reading development. They have been seriously criticized for being dull and flabby and uninteresting. When they first encounter the mystery of reading, children seem to be thrilled with almost any subject matter. However, rapid learners in reading quickly seem to get bored with Dick and Jane. The advocates of individualized reading would use basal reading texts only for minimal introductory activities, if at all. From this point, the children are surrounded with a rich variety of *different* books. Some are very simple, some are moderately difficult, and some are quite advanced. The theory here is that children will find their own level and progress as they gain competence, particularly if enticed with interesting, colorful, intrinsically interesting material.

With a basal reader approach, the class is grouped according to reading ability. Composition of the groups is changed as children improve or temporarily make

less progress in reading. In individualized reading, ability grouping is not used.

Most good elementary schools use a combination of methods, and even within a given school one can often find teachers using different approaches with relatively similar results. One can conclude rather confidently that there is no one road to learning to read well.

In the area of writing, an issue has smoldered in many communities over the timing of manuscript versus cursive writing. Most schools teach the beginner to print his letters so they are similar to those he is learning to read, on the assumption that one will reinforce the other, and also because printing is easier for the small hand. When you think about it, the child eventually must learn four quite different alphabets: the printed capitals and the printed lower case; the cursive capitals and the cursive small letters. This is no simple task. Thus the school helps the child by being sure he has a firm grasp on the printed form before transferring him to the cursive forms.

In the secondary school, some significant trends can be noted. For example, the role of formal grammar is under serious debate.

A growing number of scholars in language have been advocating that schools modify their traditional prescriptive approach to the study of English grammar and embrace modern descriptive approaches of contemporary scholarship. An increasing number of textbooks, courses of study, articles, workshops, and institutes indicate this trend will have a considerable effect on the teaching of the English language in our nation's schools. Already sample curriculums are being tested in schools in Portland (Oregon) and in Nebraska.¹⁰

¹⁰ Dorothy M. Fraser, *Current Curriculum Studies in Academic Subjects* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1962), p. 46.

Many English courses include units on the mass media. Broad themes are used to organize the reading and writing that is to be done. The use of anthologies, in which excerpts from literary masterpieces are collected according to chronology or are grouped in a series of topics, has been widespread. More recent has been the interest in extending students' reading to whole books made possible by paperback publications. It is probable that we shall see less use made of anthologies in the future.

An emphasis on writing skill has marked recent trends in secondary school English. Studies revealed the inability of the average teacher with 150 students to assign, read, and grade many themes unless the teacher did nothing else. Teachers' aides—college graduates with some English background—as readers for English teachers are being employed by some systems. Others reduce the teaching load of English teachers so that they can have more time to work on students' writings.

Debate, drama, public speaking, and journalism are all activities which have a place in the secondary school, though typically they are thought of as either extracurricular or as not fully "academic."

Foreign Languages

Another area of the curriculum to feel the impact of recent new interest and increased pressure is foreign language instruction. The figures are dramatic: in California during a period of three years nearly 8 percent of the elementary school children were enrolled in some kind of foreign language program; prior to 1959 there were hardly any such offerings. While the secondary school population in California increased 47.5 percent from

1959 to 1961, enrollment in foreign language classes increased 89.6 percent.¹¹

In many other schools similar increases are to be noted. In another report, over 22 percent of the elementary school principals reported some foreign language instruction; in large districts the proportion rose to 50 percent. Secondary schools have almost always offered at least one language, and in larger schools two or more are offered. The dramatic change has been in the addition of other languages and in the lengthening of the number of years a given language has been offered.

At the elementary school level the language most likely to be offered is French or Spanish. At the secondary level are found Latin, Spanish, French, and German. Twenty-three percent of secondary schools now offer Russian, and this percentage is certain to rise. In a very few schools Chinese, Greek, Hebrew, Italian, and a few other languages are taught.¹²

The change is indeed both startling and interesting. For generations Americans have been rather suspicious of foreign language instruction—as a frill, as not really necessary, as hardly practical. But the world has changed. Now thousands of Americans go abroad every year. Our commercial, diplomatic, military, and other international efforts involve many thousands more.

Realizing this, the federal government, under the National Defense Education Act, provided funds to support programs

¹¹ Donald W. Johnson, "The Effect of Title III of the National Defense Education Act as Reported by Administrators of California School Districts," *California Schools*, 33:223 (July 1962).

¹² *The Principals Look at the Schools* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1962), pp. 2-3.

in foreign languages. The impact of these funds can be seen in the figures already cited. In addition, schools have developed language laboratories and are doing extensive experimenting with many new ways of teaching languages through the new audio devices available.

The issues in foreign language instruction revolve around three main problems. One is articulation. If a child starts French in the third grade and continues for three years in the elementary school, will the junior high school have a teacher and a program to continue this education? Or does the child have to start the secondary school sequence all over again, beginning at grade eight or nine? The schools are understandably concerned about having facilities to meet many different stages in language learning on the part of students, a problem expected to be particularly acute at the secondary school level.

The second problem is the language to be studied. Our traditional reliance on Latin, French and Spanish does not reflect the number of persons in the world who speak these languages.

Under a grant from the NDEA, a group of linguists at George Washington University, in Washington, D.C., have been classifying the world's tongues. The top twelve and (in millions) the number of people who speak them:¹³

Chinese	460 million
English	250 million
Hindustani	160 million
Spanish	140 million
Russian	130 million
German	100 million
Japanese	95 million
Arabic	80 million
Bengali	75 million

¹³ University of Maryland, *Foreign Language Newsletter*, 1:13 (May 1961).

Portuguese	75 million
French	65 million
Italian	55 million

In the light of these figures, what should be offered students?

A third issue, a perennial one in many fields of specialization but particularly acute in the foreign language area, is finding enough teachers qualified to teach the needed languages. Actually it is possible that many students might be interested in other languages than the standard French or Spanish if they were available. But there are not the teachers. An additional problem in the last few years has been the change-over to the aural-oral method of teaching foreign languages. The stress is on speaking and hearing the language rather than on writing, grammar, and reading—aspects of the language now reserved for advanced students. Earlier instruction now also includes a new stress on understanding the society and the culture of the people.

Social Studies

Like the language arts, the term “social studies” refers to a large area of content. It means the school curriculum derived from the social sciences. The traditional school taught only geography and history because, until recent times, these were the only social sciences. Today we have many disciplines devoted to the study of man and his social activities: economics, political science, sociology, psychology, anthropology, archeology. The school program during the last thirty years has evolved into a combination of these social sciences. In many units of study it is hard to tell just where history leaves off and sociology begins.

Recent trends point toward more study of geography, but not just “place” geog-

raphy. The relation between man and his environment and the culture that he has evolved is emphasized today. Along with our growing awareness of the many parts of the world which may influence our own future has been an expansion of the coverage of the typical social studies program. For generations most social studies concentrated on the United States, the Western Hemisphere, and Western Civilization. Today there are increased amounts of study time devoted to the non-Western world. Many of the insights of anthropology are being included in studies of other peoples.

The social studies, important as they are thought to be in contributing to basic citizenship education, are highly controversial and vulnerable. Although there are many social problems facing our world, it is difficult for the schools to provide much guidance to the young in understanding these problems. Some subjects embarrass us: poverty, for example, because we do not like to be reminded of the differences in standards of living our country tolerates. Others rouse mixed feelings—religious differences, racial origins, mixed race marriages, and birth control—because we are not secure enough in the *rational* base for our feelings and beliefs. Social studies, therefore, are in the peculiar position of being considered very important but should not deal too much with current reality. The curriculum in the social studies is in need of basic rethinking, but because of traditional conservatism as well as fear of outside pressures, it has been difficult to move ahead in this area.

The usual program calls for study of home, school, and community in the first three grades. However, since today’s children know much about the whole world, its people and places, this traditional se-

quence is undergoing revision in many places. In the fourth grade many students study their state history and often the discoverers and explorers of the New World. In the fifth grade there is typically a chronological study of United States history and a look at the geography of the continent. In the sixth grade there is often a study of the history of Western civilization and a look at world geography. In the seventh grade there may be a continuation of world geography and world history, or a study of civics. In the eighth grade, the student again is likely to have history of the United States. In the ninth grade he often studies vocations and the world of work, some simple psychology of family life, and his own development as a person. Sometimes local and state government, with emphasis on civics, is included. In the tenth grade we often find world history or world geography taught, though the history is usually that of the Western world. In the eleventh grade there is still another look at United States history. A senior problems course which looks at various contemporary social problems concludes the student's public school social studies experience.

Mathematics

Vigorous leadership from mathematicians and educators has resulted in a virtual revolution in mathematics teaching in at least many leading schools. Perhaps recent changes appear more radical because nothing much had happened in the curriculum for nearly a century. When Sputnik orbited, the succeeding shock waves hit school mathematics directly. Federal and foundation funds were made available for a number of special inquiries to prepare new materials in mathematics. This interest coincided with a movement

among mathematicians and educators to eliminate much outmoded material in the curriculum. Three distinct trends can now be discerned: to provide a mathematical sequence that all college-bound students can take with profit, and at least one or two years of high school mathematics for all students; a fundamental revision of course sequence and content in the secondary schools with the preparation and publication of textbooks and teaching materials; and finally, fundamental experimentation to learn how children gain arithmetical and mathematical concepts, with implications for the mathematical education of young pupils. With assistance from special foundation or government grants, many teachers are returning to universities to be educated in the "new mathematics." One element being added is the active role of the learner in "discovery"—that is, in gaining mathematical insights for himself.¹⁴

Science

Science has not been a subject in the school curriculum for very long, certainly not science as we think of it today. One of the contributions of the land-grant colleges, which celebrated their hundredth anniversary in 1962, was to put a strong emphasis on the scientific aspects of agriculture, and in this way encourage scientific inquiries of many kinds. The old universities were not very charitable toward the new sciences. The education of a gentleman was in the humanities—languages, particularly Latin and Greek, classical literature, philosophy, and classical history. The American interest in technology, plus a pragmatic realization that science could offer tangible rewards, encouraged the develop-

¹⁴ Fraser, *op. cit.*, 27-42.

ment of science courses at the college level. By the end of the nineteenth century, a genteel kind of science could be found in some secondary schools, much of it textbook reading. The science laboratory was not generally available. A series of meetings sponsored by the Committee of Ten, organized by the National Education Association, considered the various scientific fields and the kind of teaching that might best be done in the secondary schools. Published in 1894, the report of the committee was extremely influential. It recommended that at least one fourth of the time of the high school student be spent in science, and that science be required for admission to college. The sequence of courses now found in most secondary schools—biology, chemistry, physics—evolved from this original recommendation.

We review the history of the science curriculum to illustrate not only the process of curriculum development but also the fact that times do not always change. The reason for the current excitement in science education circles may be that change has been long overdue. As one scientist commented, up to a few years ago most of the physics and chemistry taught in secondary schools would have been more rightly described as history, since the content was so far removed from current thinking in these fields.

Science education, like mathematics, was stimulated by Sputnik. Demands were heard on all sides that science requirements be increased for all college-bound students as well as for other students. Together with calls for more science, there were efforts of scientific groups to revise and update science content. Scientists were appalled when they looked closely at some of the science being taught. One of the most influential

programs originated at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, where a whole new physics course was developed, written, and then put on television, and thence to tapes and films so that it could be used all over the country, whether the science teachers had been retrained or not.

Biology has also been revised, with three experimental programs being tried out in schools across the country. Behind the changes in secondary school science have been several trends. One has been to integrate subject matter. In some schools the science and mathematics teachers form a team so that their subjects relate to each other. Another trend has been to stimulate "discovery" in a fashion similar to that developed by the mathematics group. Students are encouraged to dream up their own experiments. Instead of filling in the pages in a workbook, the students are thrust into the heart of the problem and are forced to find their way out by themselves. Thus, say the new science advocates, the scientific method is *experienced* by the student and not just talked about.

An activity which supports the new scientific interest is the science fair. We have already mentioned these in connection with the shift in focus of the secondary school. The fairs have served to draw public attention to the efforts of young people, many of which are highly original and suggest unusual scientific talent. Another trend, not so recent but of growing strength, has been to replace "nature study" in the elementary school with more truly scientific study. In 1932 the National Society for the Study of Education yearbook on the teaching of science made the strong recommendation that elementary schools make a beginning in science education. The interests of young people are easily intrigued by the

mysteries of the universe around them. Their "how" and "why" questions deal with phenomena that science has been trying to understand. Today it would be hard to find an elementary school classroom which does not have a terrarium, a map of the stars, some seeds growing in different kinds of soils, a stuffed bird, a rock collection, or a least some of these.

In order to help the teacher, particularly in the elementary school, whose own science background may be meager or remote from the wide-ranging curiosity of youngsters, schools have increasingly moved toward utilizing special teachers in science. These teachers either give instruction to the class directly or help the classroom teacher with experiments and units of instruction. Science books are to be found in individualized reading programs.

Science education has expanded in the amount of time devoted to it in the schools as well as in the quality of the education provided. What issues there are appear to be of interest to scholars and educators in the field and not ones which excite public concern. Science, like medicine, is apt to be thought of as being highly respected but incomprehensible. As we increase the scientific understanding of millions more of America's young people, however, we will find scientific literacy rising with an increase in public interest in the content and approach of science education.

The Arts

In earlier times both the gentleman and his lady were expected to be conversant with the arts; the great patrons of art and music came from the ranks of the high-born. In utilitarian America the arts have had a grave struggle for existence. In almost every European country there are

state-supported artists and musicians. In Russia the state-supported ballet school is world famous. In the United States only during the darkest days of the Great Depression did the federal government officially support the arts—music, painting, sculpture, dance, and drama.

However, despite the lack of official sponsorship for the arts, they have never flourished in the United States as they are today. For many decades, whenever there were budget problems in schools, the first thing to be cut were the "frills." What do you think the frills were? Art, music, and drama, particularly if they were regular courses in the curriculum, disappeared. Today, however, there appears to be a new spirit abroad in the land. No longer is there the deep-seated folk suspicion of "fancy" culture. Instead, we find prominent men on the boards of directors of museums, symphonies, and subscription theater. Such a thing was hard to achieve several decades ago. The man who aspires to top management these days should be as cognizant of the differences between Picasso and Modigliani as he is of the intricacies of baseball and football. With general prosperity has come a general interest in the cultivation of taste, and this is seen most obviously in the arts. True, technology has played a part: the fact that we can now have relatively inexpensive recordings of great music has contributed to this new awareness, as has the fact that inexpensive reproductions of great paintings are readily available. In any event, the average American's suspicion of the things of the spirit is no longer as formidable as it used to be.

Art as a school subject is treated informally in the elementary grades. Teachers feel at this level that the important thing is to let the child do what he wants with art. The stress is on trying various

media—water colors, poster paints, oils, clay, papier-mâché, and so on.

Some teachers are quite able to react favorably to very dismal products as well as to very lovely ones; it isn't the final product that is important, they are saying, as it is the fact that the child is creating something important to him.

In junior high school the art program is more formally organized and attempts to have all the children explore the various art media, including what we usually call the crafts—metalwork, jewelry, woodwork, and the like. Typically, art is required of all junior high school students for two or three hours in the seventh grade and two or three hours in the eighth grade. From then on, the art program is elective.

Elective art programs in the senior high school can be either very good or terrible, depending on the attitude of other school personnel. In some instances, the art courses, being wholly elective, are used as a "dumping ground" for students who cannot do anything in any other course. With good guidance, the art program, when it is elective, should enroll students who have a genuine interest and talent and others who find that through art activities they are gaining significant personal satisfactions.

The current issues in art education appear to be focused on the need to strengthen the approach of the elementary program so that all children get some sense of the satisfaction of artistic production. On the secondary school level the focus is on providing programs for average students as well as for those who are gifted.

The picture for music education is similar to that for art. During the elementary school years the music program is usually in the hands of the classroom teacher,

though a special music teacher may be available in many schools also. Young children respond to music with fervor. Music appears to be one of the many languages of childhood. Rhythm bands are favorites of children. They are quite capable of making up their own songs, too. Music helps them understand other peoples. Music is a language that, needing no words, has a vast appeal. In the junior high school the program is likely to become more formal. Instruction in music appreciation appears when the teacher is trying to stretch the range of the music that students will accept and attempt to understand. It is also the time when voices are changing, so that the music teacher who desires some coherent singing from his classes often has a struggle. Here we find the first organized orchestras and bands. Students who find their place in such a group are very fortunate since there are few other such group experiences, outside of being on the varsity team, available to many school youth. The orchestra or the band is an "in-group." Its members are members of a team in a very real sense. Making music together is a moving and significant personal experience.

In the senior high school, music, like art, is an elective. The problem faced by the music teacher is to find the middle ground between selective education for the talented and enriching education for the average interested student.

A further factor tends to complicate the high school picture. The role of bands in athletic events has produced the phenomenon of the marching band, led by agile drum majorettes. The band's ability to perform intricate marching maneuvers is as important as its ability to play "The Star Spangled Banner." Are such bands good or bad? Good or bad for whom?

What do they represent in terms of educational values? Is this desirable? These are questions which cannot be answered by the music teachers alone; they must be considered and answered by all educators and school patrons.

Physical Education

It was a shock to many Americans to be told how flabby American youth are. Yet the facts are known: American youth does not have the stamina, the endurance, or the strength of youth in other countries. Of course this should have been no shock to anyone, but it is easy to escape the obvious. We send our children to school by bus; in most countries they walk several miles if need be. We have elevators to go three stories; we drive a car to go around the corner. Physical exertion is to be avoided if at all possible. But one of the undying myths of our society is the stamina and strength as well as the courage and endurance of our frontier and pioneer forebears. Thus every American male likes to think of himself as strong and sturdy. Recent comparisons between American youth and European youth demonstrated how far we are from this comforting myth. Under the leadership of both former President Eisenhower and President Kennedy there has been a strong effort to develop a general physical fitness program for all youth.

The American interest in physical fitness as an aspect of education is relatively recent. Until World War II physical education was not universally required in all colleges and secondary schools. Organized physical education programs were a rarity in elementary schools. Today most of our colleges and universities require of all their students at least some organized physical education courses for gradua-

tion, as do almost all secondary schools. We find an increasing number of specialized physical education teachers in the elementary school, often a traveling teacher who goes from school to school on a regular circuit to give formal instruction in the development of skills.

Physical education leaders have identified various skill areas and levels of skill development, and they have worked out game sequences that help develop these skills. The child progresses from large group games to team games with specialized roles taken by different players. As one can see, physical education is both a physical and a social learning experience.

Recent discussions have focused on the role of intramural programs and interschool athletics at both junior and senior high school levels. Dr. Conant has taken a strong position opposing the latter at the junior high school level.¹⁵ There has been concern that highly competitive athletics at any level will distort the true function of the educational program. In some communities the coaches are paid more than any other faculty member. Some communities demand winning teams—or else. It is probable that this heavy emphasis on organized competitive sports is waning, particularly as the stress has moved to physical fitness for all.

The physical education program in the junior and senior high school has undergone many changes in recent years. Most spectacular, to the outsider, is the development of coeducational programs. These may include regular dance classes during school time, both social dancing and folk dancing. There may be coeducational tumbling or trampoline classes. The test-

¹⁵ James B. Conant, *Education in the Junior High School Years* (Princeton, N.J.: Educational Testing Service, 1960).

ing of participants for their level of physical development and skill development is a recent addition. The actual activities engaged in have broadened, too. Now we find schools which provide instructions in archery, swimming, badminton, tennis, golf, soccer, hockey, lacrosse, modern dance, and tumbling, plus all the standard track and team sports. The emphasis on leisure-time skills for today as well as for the later years of adulthood is a marked trend in modern programs.

The physical education specialists or teachers are often also called upon to provide instruction in health education. Sometimes it is the responsibility of the classroom teacher to tell the second-graders the proper way to brush their teeth, to supervise their lunchroom choices, and to give basic information about the proper foods to eat. Sometimes the school nurse or the district doctor or dentist gives this instruction. During the secondary school years, more concentrated attention is given to personal health, with teaching shared by many, though, again, the physical education instructor may assume primary responsibility. In science some facts about physiology and health may be stressed. In social studies, the simplest approach to mental health may be outlined. In home economics, girls will get information on diet and nutrition and the proper preparation of foods. Many states require instruction about the evils of narcotics and the dangers of excessive use of alcohol or tobacco.

Safety education or driver education may also be considered in the general realm of physical education, though different personnel may often be involved. Typically, however, a person certified to teach physical education has also developed a minor specialty in either health education or driver education. The latter

programs are new. They have emerged from a recognition of the fact that much of the daily highway slaughter is avoidable if drivers are properly trained. Statistics have proven the efficacy of driver education programs; such drivers have far fewer avoidable accidents than other young drivers, a fact that insurance companies recognize by lowering their premiums. Nevertheless, the public often views programs of driver education with real alarm, for they are often seen as a "frill" or as an infringement on the responsibility of the home.

A few decades ago the arts were considered frills, and before that science and modern languages were thought nonessential. Time moves on. Today driver education is often selected for attack because it is not "real" education. Some schools get around public criticism by using the summer session for driver education and charging for it. Others do not schedule the program as a regular course and do not give any graduation credit for it. However, most teenagers and their parents approve of the program so heartily that it seems safe to predict that driver education is here to stay.

Business and Commercial Education

Programs in business and commercial education are obviously vocational in nature and are almost exclusively the responsibility of the secondary school. The value of the job training aspects of these programs cannot be overestimated. The public schools probably produce most of the clerical help utilized by business and government. The quality of these programs varies with the financial support available and the size of the school population. A small district can offer only a minimum program of typing and shorthand. More elaborate programs include

courses in operating office machines, office technique and management, business law, bookkeeping, and simple accounting. More extensive programs may differentiate even the general required courses for such students and provide special courses in business English and business arithmetic.

The introduction of many new machines in business operations has necessitated some basic rethinking in the general orientation to be given the new student. In modern programs stress is placed on work relationships, basic manipulative skills, and insight into systems of work rather than on the mastery of any one machine or one machine-related skill. As a result of recent developments in automation some schools are offering special courses in the skills related to simple machine programming.

The vocational programs have benefited from federal funds, a point not to be underestimated. A recent one, in the distributive education field, has such federal support. This plan calls for a select group of students to be enrolled in the regular school program of required subjects for one half day, then on the job for one half day. A teacher-coordinator works out the job placements; those working at a given job in the morning are often replaced by other students in the afternoon. Though the schoolwork follows the usual pattern of general English and social studies, the courses are often tailored to meet the needs of the working student, giving him job-related skills and insights. Students who work in these programs are typically better job risks and stay in school longer to complete the program than others who want to get out into the world of work but who lack both skills and understanding of what is expected of them.

A federally sponsored program to train practical nurses follows a similar pattern with cooperation between school and hospital so that the student gains practical training leading to a vocation and at the same time is able to complete the requirements for high school graduation.

The basic problem facing the business and commercial courses in the schools is that of technological change, as we have suggested. The schools can hardly keep up with the new technology, and the training needs required are still not clearly identified. Certainly it will be years before school practice catches up, and then a new technological revolution will be upon us!

Industrial Arts and Trade and Vocational Education

Today, a well-equipped elementary classroom will have a workbench with tools for children to try their hand at pounding, sawing, and nailing. This is considered an essential part of their skill development and can lead into many other classroom activities. If the snake that Billy brought in needs a cage, then the boys can build it in the classroom. Soap and candles can be made to illustrate processes used in colonial life.

In the junior high school, boys are given a chance to learn to use more difficult and precise tools. Here they handle power tools of various kinds and build small objects with metal and wood. Some schools have experimented with many kinds of introductory industrial arts experiences so that boys can find out what might be of most interest to them in this broad area. Such courses are often typically required of all boys in grades seven and eight.

At the senior high level industrial arts give way to trade and vocational educa-

tion. At this point the program is almost universally elective. Boys choose the courses because they wish to. Large city systems have developed some very selective vocational schools with modern equipment and elaborate programs to prepare boys and girls for the trades in the area. In other places, unfortunately, the vocational courses gain the unsavory reputation of being the dumping grounds for misfits.

Some of the most modern industrial arts programs are increasingly including in their programs experiences leading to a better understanding of the basic processes of industry. These programs are based on the assumption that a knowledge of these processes is essential for a citizen in an industrialized and mass production-oriented society. Students in such programs actually make a product, simulating all the normal industrial procedures from research and development to production planning to evaluation and redevelopment. As such programs become more common, they may be considered a part of the general education program and may even become coeducational.

Excellent examples of pioneer work in trade and vocational education may be found in the current literature. The federal government is becoming increasingly interested in new directions for subprofessional technical training as the country enters an era of unprecedented need for technicians and specialists—many in fields so new that there are *no* persons available as teachers.

Agricultural Education

The program in agricultural education also centers primarily in the secondary school. Like the trade and vocational programs, it has an extensive federal subsidy. Along with the farm population,

however, agricultural education programs have been shrinking. Many areas that once had ambitious programs now attract few students. The scientific emphasis in agricultural education has contributed toward our embarrassing surplus of farm products.

The agricultural education program is often conducted in close association with university extension programs and with the local county farm agents. The latter also sponsor, with the schools, the 4-H Clubs, whose emphasis is also on scientific methods of farm management. Certainly the influence of these movements can hardly be overestimated in the rural areas where they are most vigorous.

An interesting recent development has been the shift of emphasis from pure vocational agriculture to horticulture and landscape gardening, interests which have a suburban appeal.

Home Economics

Like vocational education, home economics is sometimes termed “home arts” when it forms a part of the general education program of young people. The home as a major interest for instruction appears very early on the scene. A modern elementary school classroom will have a “playhouse” corner with appropriate furnishings. Much of the discussion, study, and skill development evolves from the home as a center of interest in early childhood.

As a formal course, however, the home arts field does not appear until junior high school, where the student is usually required to take one or two years of the subject. If it is a two-year sequence, one year will be devoted to personal health, which includes such topics as good grooming, nutrition, cleanliness, body hygiene; after this come simple cooking and

menu planning. The second part of the sequence is devoted to simple home crafts, such as knitting and the basic elements of sewing. In the secondary school, the program is usually elective, with part of the emphasis on general preparation for homemaking and part on the vocational aspects for the prospective dietitian or dressmaker.

In recent years the home economics educators have been aware of their loss of enrollment, as more and more girls either went into the business and commercial programs or elected to go on to college—or at least to prepare for college. As has been true of education, home economics programs often had to accept girls who were not getting along in other subjects, and who often did just as poorly in the home economics course. There have been some shifts in the thinking of home economics educators, though not all of the suggested innovations, of course, have yet been put into practice. Larger units on personal psychology, for instance, are being added. Some large schools have nurseries where young girls learn the basic elements of child care. Interior decorating has been stressed for the future young suburban home owner. The creative aspects of home management are coming to the fore, rather than the “minimum essentials.” Some practical vocational features, too, are now being stressed to point out how skill in some of the home management areas can lead to good jobs—hotel management, institutional dining room management, dress designing, buying for stores, and so on.

The preceding brief descriptions of the curriculum trends in the major subject areas cannot do justice to any of them. Each area is an object of growing school concern, changing and expanding as the years pass and as needs change. The pur-

pose of this overview is merely to emphasize the vast scope of the modern school system and the complexity of the questions we face when we deal with the problem of what to teach.

In the next section we shall discuss, again very briefly, some remaining questions of curriculum organization and content selection.

EDUCATION FOR CHILDREN WITH SPECIAL NEEDS

Typically, special education programs provide special facilities, teachers, materials, and even buildings for children having a variety of special learning problems. They may be brain-damaged, spastic, asthmatic, severely or mildly mentally retarded, emotionally disturbed, epileptic, blind, or deaf. These children command our pity, and they deserve what a rich society can afford. With help, training, and care most of these children can grow up to take a positive, if only a minor, place in society.

Methods, materials, and facilities for special education have been intensively studied, with the result that there have been many changes in the last decade. Changes in the approach to the problem will continue and may possibly be even more spectacular than those recently made. Current programs in school systems convenient to your class might be fruitful places to visit. Prospective teachers may find much that is worthwhile in making such a visit and in listening to a special education teacher explain her program.

In more recent years children with unusually high intelligence have come to be classified by some schools as children with special learning needs. These chil-

dren are few in proportion to the total student body—probably less than 5 percent of the school population.

How to define the gifted and what to do with them are questions that have been raised for a long time, especially since Terman's famous study of those whom he identified as geniuses in the 1930's. Today we may be somewhat more sophisticated than Terman at the time the study was made, although he raised many questions which he knew his study had not answered. Now we view giftedness as a many-faceted thing. Certainly intellectual giftedness is only one dimension; there are musical giftedness, artistic genius, mathematical memory of a high order, chess championship talent, and so on. A genius in coaching a winning football team certainly is not the same thing as a genius on the stock market. Giftedness suggests to many people something we call creativity. One attempt at definition seems particularly useful and suggestive. There are probably, say Getzels and Jackson, in a recent brilliant research report on creativity,

. . . . two basic cognitive or intellectual modes. The one mode tends toward retaining the known, learning the predetermined, and conserving what is. The second mode tends toward revising the known, exploring the undetermined, and constructing what might be one process represents intellectual acquisitiveness and conformity, the other intellectual inventiveness and innovation. One focuses on knowing what is already discovered, the other focuses on discovering what is yet to be known.¹⁸

Genius or talent or giftedness or creativity shows many faces. Today we are beginning to develop several kinds of

school programs in an attempt to meet some of these many kinds of talent.

One program, the Advanced Placement Program, allows students to take courses in high school which, if successfully completed as measured by a special test, permits them either to omit the course as a freshman college requirement, or to enter the subject sequence at the sophomore level in college. The larger the school the more likely it is to have such a program. Many young people in high school today who show special aptitudes are finding that they can complete many of the standard required freshman college courses before graduating from high school.

Another device used by secondary schools is to set up classes for the academically talented which do not necessarily provide them with an accelerated program but, rather, a different one. Students may, for instance, use college-level reading materials instead of a high school text. They may develop extensive research papers on independent projects of their own. They may go as far in a subject as the group desires and the teacher wants to lead them. In any event, they are a group selected for intellectual competence and presumably are treated as such.

At the elementary school level attempts to meet the needs of exceptional children are seldom as clearly worked out, partly because of the tradition of the total class as a learning unit. Schools which separate students into class groups by ability have attempted to keep the children fully stimulated through enrichment. This means in essence that every concept is explored in as much depth as the children are willing to tackle. A group may want to know all about genetics because

¹⁸ Jacob W. Getzels and Philip W. Jackson, *Creativity and Intelligence* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1962), pp. 13–14.

the hamster had a litter of babies of odd colors—how come? So the children proceed to a full-scale research project on inherited characteristics with the hamsters as productive evidence of their theories. A group may become excited about poetry and decide to write some of its own or stage an operetta of its own creation. The unsolved issue here, as has already been suggested, is how far ahead youngsters can push intellectually when physiologically and socially they may be at the same level with their less gifted peers.

GENERAL EDUCATION

We are in a continual state of search regarding what elements in education should be shared and what those with special interests or talents should pursue separately. In any given subject we might ask what literature all children and youth should read and think about and what literature they can choose to read or not read as they wish. What level of skill should all reach in reading and writing before the more talented surge ahead? What mathematics or science should every citizen know, and what should be reserved for the specially interested? Should *all* students master a foreign language?

These are not easy questions to answer. Indeed, we have come up with different answers almost every decade in the last thirty years. Times have changed and so have our concepts of what the general "exposure" of the average student ought to be. Certainly in each subject field we can identify those things every student might have a chance to learn and those things which are more specialized. The

problem may appear simpler at the elementary school level, but it is not necessarily so. The teacher may have to consider balancing Junior's surging interest in airplanes against the fact that there are other means of transportation about which he might have some learning to do, too, particularly if the class group is working on other tasks.

Junior high schools have often dealt with general education by using a "core program." A core program usually involves the integration of social studies with English. The proponents of the core program claim that this approach permits the teacher to develop the skills of language arts in a meaningful setting. If paragraphs are to be written, they can be developed around history or geography content. Creative writing can come out of a consideration of the courage of the explorers or the meaning of life. Vocabulary and spelling can be derived from the content of any other area being investigated. The core program, too, is thought of as one which combines subject matter and is scheduled for more than the usual single period. This scheduling of an extended block of time permits the teacher to work more closely with one group of students. From this close association can come a better understanding of young adolescents. The core teacher is therefore seen as one who does a good deal of guidance. In fact, much subject matter in the core program is derived from the ongoing personal and social concerns of young people.

This approach has much appeal to some educators. Others view it with alarm, as do many parents. The picture therefore is one of uncertainty. The latest figures seem to show that for every school system that drops a core program

in favor of separate subjects, another decides that it makes good sense to establish a core program. This has been the state of affairs for a number of years.

Part of the problem is the lack of teacher preparation for this kind of teaching. It takes a skilled teacher to do justice to more than one area of subject matter at the secondary school level, and most of our teachers are trained in one major field only. Also, the techniques and approaches of core work, including much informal group work, student-teacher planning, and other devices, suggest a higher level of skill and professional preparation than many teachers have. The public, too, wonders if English is being taught as well as history and geography under the general title of "core" or "common learnings" or "general education." The research is not definitive, but what there is shows that students in a good core program learn as much subject matter as students in a good separate subject program, with the added dividend that the core students tend to have more personal insight and more maturity—though, again, the research is not conclusive. Perhaps the most interesting testimony to this kind of teaching is to be found in the follow-up study of a group of students at the laboratory high school in The Ohio State University.¹⁷ These students were the products of a full-scale program of "progressive education." And twenty years later they were contributing citizens, earning salaries above the level expected and more thoughtful about and interested in the world around us than most of their generation.

¹⁷ Margaret Willis, *The Guinea Pigs after Twenty Years* (Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University Press, 1961).

SUMMARY

The curriculum of the school is what the school teaches—better yet, what the child learns in school. What is taught and what is learned are not the same. In the final analysis the learner makes his own curriculum, selecting, rejecting, and accepting according to his background, needs, interests, and motivations. The curriculum must be dealt with in "pieces." The structuring and organizing of the public school curriculum is a significant social process in a democracy. The members of each succeeding generation become fitted for their adult roles via the school curriculum.

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11

The Development of the Modern School System: I

Despite the many satisfactions accruing to the individual who lives in our prosperous contemporary world, there is an inevitable nostalgia for "the good old days." The world of today is a complex and often terrifying place, with a future we cannot predict with confidence. Thus it is comforting to look back to an era and a period when times were more settled, when each decade brought relatively little change, when the world seemed simpler, easier to understand, and easier to cope with.

Typical of this nostalgia for a bygone period is the picture of the little red schoolhouse conjured up whenever a past era is seen to be preferable to today. Because it helps to illuminate some present controversies over the purposes, methods,

and content of education now, we need to understand the role of the school in America's past. By understanding the historical roots of current practices we can better assess those which should be kept and strengthened and those that are archaic and are retained for no reason other than sheer sentiment or inertia.

PROCESSES OF INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE

Today, when planned obsolescence is part of the marketing picture, when it is customary to get a new-model car—just because it is new—even though the old one still runs satisfactorily, it is interesting to note that, in such a climate of opinion regarding change, some things are still resistant to change. One remarkably stable example is the school.

As we shall see, despite the alarms of the critics, the schools have changed relatively little over the past thirty years. And the changes since the turn of the century are more in specific content areas than in aspects of structure. Some significant changes have, of course, occurred, and we will examine these later, but the basic outlines of the institution were set over fifty years ago and have changed far less than most of the other things around us. The only other institution with a similar attachment to tradition is the church.

It is no accident that churches—and schools—change relatively little. Both institutions are uniquely personal. Faith, unlike an automobile, cannot be changed for a new model every year or so, or else the whole supporting structure of religion is lost. Immutability is one of the psychologically significant functions of religion in the lives of individuals. To suggest that rituals, dogmas, and creeds can change with time is to challenge the very

basis for the religious beliefs of many persons.

The school serves a similar function for many individuals. It is highly reassuring to believe that knowledge from decade to decade remains relatively the same. It is unnerving to think that what one knew as a fact fifteen years ago is not true today, and that one's children may come home from school, having learned today's truth, and tell their parents how stupid and ill-informed they are. Yet this is exactly what faces today's educator and today's parent. Knowledge is not set and given for all time. The more we move into a scientific view of life and society, the more we must change our basic assumptions about matter and about life, and the more we must mistrust the evidence of the senses.

But this is easier said than done. Let us look at an example of educational lag. We now know that formal grammar is not the best method of developing good writers. Good writers develop from good readers who have had ample opportunity to do a good deal of writing about things they want to write about.

Research findings from significant studies made during the last fifty years show clearly that direct methods of instruction that focus on writing activities and the structuring of ideas are more efficient in teaching sentence structure, usage, punctuation, and other related factors than are such methods as nomenclature drills, diagramming, and rote memorization of grammatical rules.

Research reveals that a knowledge of classificatory grammar has little measurable effect on the ability to express ideas accurately or precisely in writing or speaking. Grammatical errors are individual matters and are best attacked through individual instruction. Young people improve their sentences by having many opportunities, with the guidance of the teacher, for struc-

turing their own thoughts into sentences.

The best way to develop ideas to be structured into sentences is to furnish greater richness of experience and more opportunities for sharing of ideas. Children and adolescents gain their ideas from books, radio, TV, movies, and direct association with others in their homes, schools, and communities. A positive correlation exists between the socioeconomic status of a child's home and his growth in language.

Although some researchers have been pessimistic about the lack of success by the school in eradicating grammatical errors which seem to reflect home background, some studies show that the influence of the school is most marked in the less privileged groups.

The process of growth in language power is part of the total pattern.¹

But it will be many generations before formal grammar is removed from the curriculum and left to the linguists for special study of language and structure. We can give many similar examples of the sanctity of outmoded subject matter. Perhaps some of you are already distressed at the thought that you should re-examine what you know about the values of formal grammar—particularly those of you who did very well in such formal instruction.

We hold onto those things in which we have security because we have been successful in their accomplishment. Teachers, then, are often loath to change the content of their subject or the ways they have learned to teach it because the teacher may make mistakes when trying to teach the new material or to use new methods. As one teacher commented, "I teach *Ivanhoe* not because I think it is a great classic, but because I know it al-

¹ Ingrid M. Strom, *Research in Grammar and Usage and Its Implications for Teaching Writing* (Bloomington: School of Education, Indiana University, 1960).

most word for word!" Think of the effort such a teacher must make to learn a new novel in this fashion!

Another major obstacle to change in education is the feeling parents have about what happens to their children. As has been suggested already, a parent does not particularly enjoy having Junior come home and flatly contradict a favored piece of parental information the parent may have learned a generation ago in school. Parents, as well as teachers, gain comfort from the familiar. The grammar taught today, as long as it is similar to what parents have learned, makes it easy for the parent to retain his role of authority and informant. His child can come to him for help. But today, when a teacher, for instance, may try to teach youngsters the "set" theory in mathematics, even a well-educated parent will feel bewildered and confused.

Not only is it helpful for parents to feel that they can be a source of knowledge and information for their school-age child, there is also a special quality of involvement on the part of a parent in his child's education. It is all very well for a teacher to be objective about a class of thirty children, and be able to view the failure of two or three of them as something to be expected in the normal course of events. But the parent of the child who fails cannot view such an event as normal or to be expected. He has an emotional involvement in his own child's success, not only because the child is his child, but because the success a parent feels about his role in life is directly related to how successful his child may be.

Geoffrey Gorer has pointed this out: "No theory could gain widespread acceptance in America which did not concede that the child was the hope for the future, and that he could, given the

proper start in life, go farther and fare better than his parents."² This attitude accounts in part for the reluctance of the American parent to permit the schools to "experiment" with education. Something so crucial to the success of the child cannot be lightly tampered with. In recent years, however, there has been a lessening of resistance on the part of the public toward educational experimentation. When Russia launched her first Sputnik the shock to our complacency produced a clamor for new programs in education which would be more effective than existing ones. Parents also have been placing ever-increasing pressure on the schools to make life in school enjoyable for all, to see to it that all succeed in some way or other. Such a parental attitude is supported by contemporary psychology, which points out that feelings of success engender success, whereas feelings of failure induce more failure. Thus a school in which all succeed will be likely to produce individuals who feel that they are competent and can do well—or at least this is the theory. It has as yet not been tried in well-controlled experimental practice.

The theory of universal success has not been tried for two reasons: we do not know how to make the general feeling of success available to all when talents and abilities vary so greatly; and the parent, despite his desire for success for his *own* child, is suspicious of success which is too widely enjoyed. To be truly satisfying, it seems, success has to be at the expense of someone else's failure.

We see, therefore, the various pressures and feelings which keep the school

² Geoffrey Gorer, *The American People* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1948), p. 71.

an essentially conservative institution. When the world is in fear of the future, when uncertainty and change are everywhere, there is probably value in institutional stability and conservatism. For this reason, innovators in educational practice must estimate the psychological cost of basic changes which may in the long run be greater than the gains. Yet, on the other hand, failure to change our ways in education may mean that we are not equipping young people to cope with the world they will be living in, with the result that a society which does so equip its young may triumph in the end. But if change is to come, many influential lay persons would have this change be a return to traditional modes of schooling similar to what they think they experienced in the past. Or, again, such change might be toward the model presented by academic education in European countries, a position we will examine more fully in a later chapter.

One commentator on the current dissatisfaction with American life said that the only thing wrong with the present is that the future is not what it used to be. Lacking a future that can be relied upon to deliver ever-greater increments of prosperity and security, it is only human to look back to a remembered past that seems, by contrast, more satisfying, simpler, and promising. Thus we read how one columnist described the Christmas of his youth:

WASHINGTON.—The weather, usually, would be cold and blowy, well before Christmas Day. It would be the time of the Northerns which would come whistling in from the high plains, as cold and lonely as the freight trains of cattle cars that went by at night with long mournful shrieks.

And in those far-off days when the fireplace was the real and only source of heat in the sitting-room—and not the phony bower

of bric-a-brac that it is today—there was a universal condition of chapped and rough skin and red noses. Nobody, as I recall it now, was ever entirely warm; not, anyhow, in the moist hothouse way in which we are nowadays all not so much warmed as steamed-cooked.

School would be let out, not a week or ten days ahead of time, but at precisely four o'clock in the afternoon on Christmas Eve. (We celebrated Christmas, all right; but we didn't overdo it.) Those of us who went to school on the elegant South Side would walk home in comparative decorum, with only a brief and routine fist fight, perhaps around at the side of Farmers and Merchants Bank. Small, dirty clumps of cotton which had escaped from the compress or from the cotton gin in the selling-and-baling weeks just ended, would be lying about in the corners of the bank or at Mr. Weaver's drug store. Into these handy scatterings a boy could reach for a handful of aboriginal Kleenex and thus stop the flow of blood from his nose. (Our town society, though poor, was remarkably improvident, since cotton in those days might fetch 75 cents a pound.)

Among us South Side schoolboys—the sons of comparative privilege in long black stockings and breeches which looked like skinny plus-fours—a small, tough character here and there might carry, clutched in his fist, a stick of sugar candy. He bore it as a status symbol; it was an earnest of the fact that he had attended one of our very rare "school Christmas parties." We did not, on the whole, go in for school Christmas parties.

It was, however, always possible that some teacher in one of the seven rooms of the South Side School might in the spirit of the season decide to do the handsome thing by the children. If so, a thrifty ten minutes before the four o'clock schoolbell was to ring, she would briskly order a hiatus in routine and fetch out a paper bag which she had secretly brought in that morning from Higginbotham's store. From this sack (and sack was what we always called a paper bag) she would hand out the largess: a striped stick of candy to each boy; a solid stick (lemon it usually was) to each girl.

With these sticks she would utter her

observations upon the season. She did not point out that this was a very merry season; she did not give small lectures upon the ancient meaning of Christmas, Christian and pagan; she did not tell us that Santa Claus was of German origin and that Father Christmas was the British way of remembrance. If she felt in a gay and feckless mood, she might say something about having a happy Christmas. But this was the very farthest she would go.

(We celebrated Christmas, all right; but we didn't overdo it.)

We would not, on our part, hand the old girl anything. (We would only go shouting out of the schoolhouse into the early gathering dusk.) That kind of thing was not done. True, a very few among us might quickly bob their heads to her in an undeclared wish for a Merry Christmas. But these were on the whole members of that small atypical juvenile band which the majority of us regarded stonily as smarty teacher's pets.³

The fact that today most people in America can be warm and comfortable is represented as being less desirable than the good old days when "nobody was ever entirely warm." Does this strike you as a really better condition? It might have been truly a wonder to be given an orange for Christmas, and to prize it. Yet you can ask if this is really better than today, when almost everyone can drink orange juice every day in the year, if he so desires, with resultant improved health? Which condition is preferred? True, the school of those days spent little time on the frivolity of Christmas. Today's school, on the other hand, may devote hours of a teacher's and the students' time in producing a Christmas pageant, opera, play, or assembly, utilizing all the creative abilities of many in the activity. Which procedure has greater merit?

Wistful nostalgia for a way of life which seems in retrospect so much more rewarding than the lives children lead today is strongly with us, and particularly with regard to school memories. The drama of school when principals were real, 100 percent ogres and teachers were unapproachable authorities remains in the memory of some adults as somehow more special and real than the world children of today inhabit in the kindlier environment of a modern school.

That not all memories of school evoke this nostalgia is seen in the following recollection of a woman who became a great teacher:

"Come up here at once!"

It was the angry voice of the first-grade teacher. Small Marie sat frozen in her seat crouching nearer the iron post which went up on the right side of the seat.

"Come here, I say!"

Marie saw the skin of the teacher's chin draw tight over the sharp bone. The red marks stood out like the tiny garnets in granny's breastpin. Move she could not.

"Bad girl, spoiling the row."

What row, what spoiling, went through the frightened child's mind.

Marie was not yet five, for her birthday was in late September. There had been talk of the newfangled kindergarten, but the majority of the villagers had laughed it out of court, with its putty balls, softened lentils, and toothpicks for construction. This was the first grade, the first day.

The offense had been that Marie had leaned against the post, thus spoiling the symmetry of the row of children, sitting upright with hands strained together until the skin shone on all the small knuckles.

Thus teachers are born. . . . In that first-grade room, in the year 1891, a teacher was born, in tears and humiliation. From a child, a teacher was born.⁴

³ William S. White, "Christmas in the Vernacular," *Harper's*, December 1960, pp. 289-290. Reprinted by permission of the author.

⁴ Marie J. Rasey, *It Takes Time: An Autobiography of the Teaching Profession* (New York: Harper & Row, 1953), pp. 6-7.

Memory can thus serve the present in different ways. It is interesting to read what observers of today's schools recall about their own early schooling. While we can only speculate as to the different attitudes individuals bring to earlier experiences, the wish for a return to a simpler mode of education seems to pervade many contemporary writings.

The significance of these memories is apparent when we know how very influential the American public is in determining school policy. Of all the elements of the American school which astound the foreign observer, the local control of education by laymen strikes them as most unusual. In no other country in the world is the local lay school board the major source of educational policy. Educational programs in other nations are determined by an educational ministry staffed by professional educators. Such individuals would be appalled at the suggestion that the public should intervene in establishing educational policies. In the United States the reverse is true. The educators are viewed as servants of the public, and the schools as the proper arena for public action and policy determination.

There is, obviously, a serious disagreement between educators and the public as to the dividing line between public and professional responsibilities for educational programs. This issue is one of the many that are unresolved. The development of the unique American method of providing for education is an interesting story.

THE GENESIS OF LOCAL LAY CONTROL OF EDUCATION

Local school boards emerged as a result of some of the peculiar factors that

were to be found in the new America. When the earliest colonists arrived there were no institutions to adapt to here, and the only ones developed were modifications of those they brought with them. Since the dominant group in colonial America was English, the forms of English life were transplanted to America as much as possible. But America was quite different from England. Life in the early days of settlement was extraordinarily hazardous and difficult.

The English family had been solely responsible for obtaining an education for its children, either within the parental home or by apprenticeship, or through employing itinerant tutors or utilizing a "dame school" for rudimentary instruction. But the family in America found it particularly difficult to perform its educational task.

Disruption and transplantation in alien soil transformed the character of traditional English family life. Severe pressures were felt from the first. Normal procedures were upset by the long and acute discomforts of travel; regular functions were necessarily set aside; the ancient discipline slackened. But once reestablished in permanent settlements the colonists moved toward recreating the essential institution in its usual form. In this, despite heroic efforts, they failed. At first they laid their failure to moral disorder; but in time they came to recognize its true source in the intractable circumstances of material life.⁵

It was the young who fared best in this new land, being more adaptable to changed circumstances. No longer did a vigorous young man have to spend years working on his father's lands until he could save enough to purchase a few acres of his own: he could move west-

⁵ Bernard Bailyn, *Education in the Forming of American Society* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960), p. 22.

ward and carve out his own free land from the wilderness. If he did not like the strict demands of his parents, he could pick up and leave; labor was scarce and jobs were plentiful:

Material independence was sooner or later available to every energetic adult white male, and few failed to break away when they could. . . .

The response was extraordinary. There is no more poignant, dramatic reading than the seventeenth-century laws relating to family life. . . . Within a decade of their founding all of the colonies passed laws demanding obedience from children and specifying penalties for contempt and abuse. Nothing less than capital punishment, it was ruled in Connecticut and Massachusetts, was the fitting punishment for filial disobedience.⁶

With the family thus weakened and losing many of its traditional functions, it was soon recognized that the educational responsibility once borne by the family was now neglected. Before the middle of the eighteenth century Massachusetts and Virginia had passed laws requiring the family to see that children were taught to read and understand the principles of religion. It was feared that if the child were unable to read the Bible, he would be defenseless against alien religious forms. The fear of Catholicism pervades these early admonitions to families to see that their children are properly instructed. In Massachusetts, all the towns were required to provide for the instruction of children.

Other colonies passed similar legislation, much of it aimed at those who were too poor to pay for the education of their children, and stipulating that the town or the community must then support some kind of education for paupers. Apprentices programs, which in England

had included a provision for education in reading and writing, in America soon provided only for instruction in the skill itself. Workers were too sorely needed for them to spend any time in acquiring basic literacy. Separate evening schools were therefore established, and masters were charged to send apprentices to such schools.

What was the net effect of these developments? Who was to decide what was to be taught in the schools, either those for the children of townfolk or those for apprentices? Although private donations paid for many schools, it was soon found that they were irregular and uncertain sources of funds. Soon regular school taxes were levied, and with public money came public control. Again, this was a by-product of the lack of surplus wealth in the new nation. To assure a continued source of income for schools, money had to be raised and its expenditure controlled. Schoolteachers had to be hired; buildings had to be erected.

Dependent for support upon annual or even less regular gifts, education at all levels during the early formative years came within the direct control, not of those responsible for instruction, but of those who had created and maintained the institutions. When in the eighteenth century a measure of economic maturity made it possible to revert to other, older forms, the tradition of external control was well established. That it remained so, and that consequently American education at all levels, and especially at the highest, has continued to be sensitive to community pressure, delicately reflecting the shifting interests and needs of the founding and sustaining groups . . . is a consequence of the utility of this tradition in the emerging pattern of American group life.⁷

The peculiar circumstances of the founding of America led to the develop-

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

ment of a unique American educational program. One of the key elements was the clear establishment of local lay control. Today, as we have seen, the school board is a key factor in determining educational policy. The quality of public education today rests in the hands of local boards of education more than most observers realize or understand. Certainly no other country in the world has made local lay control of education such a significant determiner of educational policy.

THE NONSECTARIAN COMMON SCHOOL

The history of American education is fascinating because it tells us as much about the growth of American character as does any other facet of America's development. Because of the national interest in and support of general education for all, we have developed the American character in a way no other institutional device could have accomplished.

While we can see that among Americans there are many more things believed in common than otherwise, this unanimity of loyalty and belief has occurred *without* a national system of education. How can this be so? In countries with a national system of education, it is obviously easy to direct every school to pay attention to certain basic and common learnings. Not so in America. As we pointed out above, one of the unique aspects of American education from the beginning was the development of local lay control. When the nation was established, despite the writings of such leaders as Thomas Jefferson, no directive was given for a national system of education. In fact, education is not mentioned anywhere in the Constitution, and it is accepted that the

founding fathers wanted the states to have individual control over education. At that time it is probable that they only vaguely realized the power that education could have in determining national purpose. In a sense, of course, the colonists had had many experiences with deliberate education. Their missionary efforts to convert the heathen Indians—and, incidentally, to educate them—had been strenuous and purposeful. These efforts, however, did not succeed as well as had been hoped. Nevertheless, the leadership in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century America recognized education as important and powerful, but not necessarily a fit area for governmental intervention on a national scale.

The growth of America's common school was thus left to each state. Some made much greater strides in providing schools for all than did others. Where there were a common religion and a common language the schools were better supported. In New England, for instance, each village soon had a small school and was able to support an itinerant schoolmaster for a few months each year at least. Several colleges were founded for the purpose of providing ministers, and later lawyers, doctors, and "men of letters." In the South, on the other hand, as the plantation economy took hold, schooling was not generally provided. The gentry could afford education for its children, but the poorer farmers could not. In fact, the Southern elite felt that the best education could be obtained only abroad, and sent its young people to England or Europe for their education. This became so commonplace that eventually laws were passed which sought to prevent the practice because youth educated abroad might be indoctrinated with un-American ideas!

Although universal education had some values, there were also some hazards. The poor, if educated, might become restive. Laws against educating slaves were common in both North and South. The primary objective of the pauper schools, the first "public schools" in the middle and southern states, was to see that the young had sufficient schooling to fulfill their religious duties and to ply a trade, but it was considered demeaning to have to attend these schools since to do so was a public avowal of poverty.

The greatest impetus to broadening education came with the diverse ethnic groups that flocked to America in the mid-nineteenth century. Prior to this, the common Protestant and English background of most of the colonists had made it unnecessary in New England and the South to be concerned about the "common" aspects of schooling. It was taken for granted that English would be the language of instruction, and that the tenets of the established church in each colony would be actively promulgated in the pauper schools and the village schools. In the middle colonies, notably Pennsylvania, the diversity of ethnic groups and their religious differences reinforced the doctrine of local control, since each community had an interest in the instruction of its own children in its own language and religion.

But as immigration from non-English-speaking groups continued, local authorities found it urgent to establish schools which could quickly help such persons become "American." New Americans found it essential to learn the established language; otherwise their chances of moving out of urban or rural slums were slim.

The nonreligious nature of the public school also gained hold during the early

nineteenth century. Although most Americans were Protestant, the rise of different cults and groups within the same state, together with migration which introduced new Protestant groups or larger numbers of Catholics, made it difficult for any one denomination to assert a special right to indoctrinate the young. Jealousy and rivalry among sects also contributed to the secular control of the schools. In time it became accepted doctrine for church and school to be separated.

The nature and extent of church and school separation is still open to debate and controversy. Few questions can arouse more passionate feelings today than the use of federal or state money for parochial schools. Supreme Court decisions have been sought in the effort to get a clear definition of the role of the state in any religious endeavor, but the issue is still unsettled.

The beginnings of American education, though religious in purpose, soon became nondenominational. However, even though a given creed was not to be taught, the schools were clearly considered moral establishments. One of the major purposes of education was to change the essentially evil and undisciplined nature of the child and to bring him into a true reverence of God. A parallel purpose emerged with the need for some kind of national unity. Although this purpose was clearly stated by Jefferson, who saw the "common" school as an essential element in the production of an American citizen, it was not consciously accepted by the public. Yet, in time, as observers today comment frequently, the great achievement of the American public school system, diverse as it may be, has been to establish an American character.

ESTABLISHING FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR EDUCATION

We have noted that the early colonists were deeply disturbed at the thought that some children might be uneducated and thus not be able to learn the lessons of morality and religion that went with their orthodox protestantism. On the other hand, they thought that it would be dangerous to educate all people. And even if the white lower classes should be introduced to the minimums of literacy, there was some distrust about giving them too much education.

Although we now take for granted compulsory free public education of all children at least up through age 14 or 16, compulsory education laws were not on the books of every state until 1918. The various states encouraged educational development, certainly, but to provide free public schools was either a local matter or of no concern of the state until far into the middle of the nineteenth century.

The early schools in New England were usually grammar schools because the family was presumed able to instruct the children in reading and writing before they entered school; that this was not the case was soon apparent, indicating once more the loss of a family function which had been one aspect of middle-class family life in England. The school, even in the seventeenth century, was taking over traditional family functions.

There were many admonitions against admitting children to grammar or Latin schools until they could read. The dame school, however, came to be the primary school which provided initial schooling where the family was unable to do so. The impetus to establish these primary

or elementary schools came from penalties and fines imposed on parents who did not educate their children or provide for such beginning education. Masters, too, were supposed to provide a basic education for apprentices, though, as we have seen, this task was soon turned over to an evening school or other institution. The penalties for not teaching a child or for arranging to have him instructed could be severe. In Salem in 1673, for instance, the selectmen of the town advertised that the children of five men were to be put out to service—in other words indentured—because of failure to have the children “instructed and brought up to some useful employment.”⁸

The salary the teacher received was hardly able to support him full time, and he was mostly responsible for collecting the tuitions the families paid for instruction. This amount might be no more than four pence a week for beginners, and six pence for those slightly advanced. Many parents did not pay up promptly, if at all, and the town was supposed to make up the difference. Again, the schoolmaster might have difficulty collecting. Sometimes he would be paid in firewood, in meat, or in other produce, according to what was often written in his contract. The annual net salary could hardly have been more than \$60 or \$70 (expressed in 1904 dollars).⁹

When he was an indentured servant or a slave the schoolmaster received no pay at all. In the seventeenth century many contracted for their passage to America by permitting the captain of the ship to

⁸ Walter H. Small, *Early New England Schools* (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1914), p. 347.

⁹ Clifton Johnson, *Old-Time Schools and School Books* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1904), pp. 4-6.

sell their services for four years in order to pay for their passage. Persons who had been convicted of petty crimes were often permitted to leave England if a captain were willing to take the chance of finding a market for their services in the New World. If such a person were able to read and write he would be purchased as a schoolmaster. The first teacher provided for George Washington was such a bondsman, who also served as sexton and janitor for the church and occasionally as gravedigger.¹⁰

That public funds could be used for schools was rather clearly established in the first laws of Plymouth Colony. The income from any fishing done with nets or seines which would accrue to the colony was to be used for the support of a free school for the colony's youth.¹¹

Although today we can be justly proud of the fact that over 83 percent of the school population age 15 to 17 is in school,¹² it took over a century from the establishment of the Union to the acceptance of free public elementary schools for all. It was not until twenty-five years later that the secondary school was similarly accepted. We have seen that the early colonists valued education. Then why did it take so long for general public support of free public education to follow?

The persistent feeling that education was a family responsibility was a foremost deterrent in the original colonies through the middle of the nineteenth century. If the family could not afford education, then the state or the locality would provide it, but only in pauper schools. The egalitarian philosophy of

young America made any pauper's oath repugnant, and schools for paupers enrolled only a small fraction of those who should have been so educated. The laws compelling either state- or family-financed education were strong in language but weak in enforcement powers.

As the need became intensified, as more and more new workers who did not speak English arrived to work in the mills and the factories and on the farms, the need for education became acute. The first to accede to the demand for government-supported free schools for all were the large cities. Tax money was used to defray costs. It was another half century before state aid was used, and the power of the state invoked, for the establishment of free public schools on a state-wide basis in all the states. The fight was bitter; people of property did not like to pay for schools for the children of those who paid no taxes. The demand for compulsory elementary school education was called socialistic.¹³

In Pennsylvania, for instance, where the first, the hottest, and the most important struggle took place to provide state aid for free public schools in those parts of the state where state aid was voted, the support of the legislation has a long and tumultuous history. Thaddeus Stevens, a fervent advocate of public schools, pointed out this in a speech:

The industrious, thrifty, rich farmer pays a heavy county tax to support criminal courts, build jails, and pay sheriffs and jail-keepers, and yet probably he has never had and never will have any direct personal use for either.

Stevens continued his plea for the public support of schools by saying that the

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

¹¹ Small, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

¹² *NEA Research Bulletin*, 38:18 (February 1960).

¹³ Ralph L. Pounds and James R. Bryner, *The School in American Society* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1959), pp. 70-71.

people paid for a hangman though they did not intend to avail themselves of his services.¹⁴

Agitation in Pennsylvania for free schools began in 1824; by 1834 the first free school act was passed. But it was not until 1873 that the last district in the state accepted such state aid. Opposition came from persons of property. Also, since the schools were to be in English, the German settlements in Pennsylvania opposed them vigorously: they did not like to spend tax money on such a frill. Moreover, public schools might encroach on their German parochial schools.¹⁵

But the schools the public wanted they were eventually able to obtain. The principle of tax support for public schools was clearly stated by the school law of 1789 in Massachusetts. Other New England states, notably New Hampshire and Maine, moved toward tax support. By the time of the Civil War the middle Atlantic states were committed almost totally to the support of the common school through public taxation. Typically the urban areas were the first to build and pay for schools, rural areas being less willing to tax themselves for such purposes. Inequalities between urban and rural areas still exist today in the amount of financial support given to the public schools.

The states of the Middle West and the West found it a good deal easier to accept the tradition of free public elementary schools. By the provisions of the national land grants to all states, starting with the

admission of Ohio in 1802, each state received the sixteenth section of each township for the support of common schools and two townships of land for a state university. In 1862 the establishment of the land-grant colleges continued the provision by the federal government of the use of public lands for the support of education. Since the older states did not share in this allocation of public lands, they set about to establish a land grant themselves; some states, such as New York and Connecticut, were able to accomplish this before the end of the nineteenth century.

The struggle for free public education was not over; even though elementary schools were free and publicly supported, that support for the next level had yet to be secured. It was not at all certain that all children should be eligible for secondary education at the taxpayer's expense. After all, the elementary grades taught the youngster how to read and write and figure, inculcated some concepts of morality and virtue, and some respect for learning, and identified those of talent who might profit from further education if they had the money. But should the public support everyone and anyone who wanted to go to secondary school? The old arguments were once more advanced. Too much learning is dangerous. What kind of job will a high school-educated person be fit for? They cannot all go to college, nor should they. The labor of youth is needed; they should not be tempted to go on to school.

The famous Kalamazoo Case (1872) settled one basic issue: that the public could be taxed for the support of secondary education, open to all who wanted to come. It is less than a hundred years ago that the principle of state support of public secondary education was confirmed. In time, all the other states fol-

¹⁴ R. Freeman Butts and Lawrence A. Cremin, *A History of Education in American Culture* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1953), p. 203.

¹⁵ Ellwood P. Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1947), pp. 191-196.

lowed suit; however, until recently the compulsory school age did not include secondary school in most states.

EXTENDING EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

Opposition to the equal education for girls is evident from the early school records of New England. Although some communities did establish schools for beginning instruction for both sexes, in other communities girls were specifically excluded from the grammar schools, were permitted to attend school only after the boys had gone, or were admitted to school for a shorter term. It was considered a major threat to the position of a man if his wife should be capable of criticizing his work, or even correcting his spelling.¹⁶

Grudgingly and with many misgivings, the doors of secondary schools were opened to girls on an equal basis with boys. In some eastern cities, however, separate schools for boys and girls still exist, and often the best academic schools are closed to girls. In Baltimore, for instance, Baltimore City College (a high school) has extremely high scholastic standards with a rigid academic curriculum: no girls are permitted to attend.

The major battle against coeducation was to be fought in the universities: there was no college open to women in 1800. By 1821 the first seminary for women was opened, eventually to become Vassar College. Although education for women was available, they were neither encouraged nor motivated to take advantage of their opportunities; Pennsylvania State College, for instance, enrolled six women

in 1871; in 1879, 49 women, a number not exceeded for the next thirty years.¹⁷ West of the Mississippi all states except Missouri made their universities coeducational from the start.

The extension of schooling to another minority group was also slowly accomplished. The early laws forbidding masters to teach their Negro slaves to read and write kept the Negro in a state of subservience and ignorance long after he had won his freedom. The struggle for equal educational opportunity for the Negro has not yet been won. Many parts of the Deep South did not provide secondary school education for Negroes at all until recent years, and elementary school education was for a shorter period, with less equipment and poorer buildings than those in other areas. Following the Supreme Court decision of 1954 declaring segregation by race to be unconstitutional, the educational opportunities of the Negro have improved, though often without removing the racial barrier. Certainly it will take many years of schooling to overcome the handicaps imposed by two hundred years of isolation and neglect. The education of the American Indian is another blot on our record, although it is a hopeful sign that current governmental efforts are beginning to reach more and more of the reservation Indians.

ENROLLMENTS INCREASE

The extension of education to all has not been achieved without many battles. Several important factors have, however,

¹⁷ Edward Danforth Eddy, *Colleges for Our Land and Time* (New York: Harper & Row, 1956), p. 61.

¹⁶ Small, *op. cit.*, pp. 275-289.

produced our current high rate of enrollment in the nation's elementary and secondary schools—public, private, and parochial. One of these was the reduced need for child labor. Early schools enrolled children for only a few weeks or a few months a year; the rest of the time they were functioning members of the family economy. A labor scarcity present in the United States until after 1900 made the labor of youth a necessity. Particularly was this true of the rural areas; the more sons and daughters a farmer had the larger the acreage he could till. Children were a distinct asset on the frontier, and with the high mortality rates a family needed to produce many children in order to have enough manpower to keep the homestead going.

In cities and mining communities, children were also needed to bring in cash income. But wages were so low and working conditions so incredibly bad that humanitarians called for an end to the exploitation of small children. This humanitarian drive coincided with a beginning labor surplus as well as with growing national prosperity, so that by 1925 child labor laws were effectively protecting all but agricultural workers from the worst evils of the industrial system.¹⁸ Most of the states passed laws prohibiting full-time employment of children under fourteen, and eventually the federal government was able to enact legislation prohibiting the labor of children under sixteen in the production of goods for interstate commerce. Such activities forced young people to go somewhere, and the school was near at hand. Enrollments in secondary schools showed a rise in direct relation to the restrictions on youth employment.

¹⁸ Cubberley, *op. cit.*, pp. 564–576.

Prosperity also helped. As parental incomes rose, it was no longer necessary for children to help in family support. Today, with the highest income level ever realized by the American population, more youth than ever hold part-time jobs, but the income they earn they are free to spend almost wholly upon themselves.

With twelve years of schooling the expected norm for the majority of American youth, the next expansion of education became the college. What a high school diploma meant in 1900 a college diploma means today. A technological society, of course, demands better educated workers and more highly trained individuals as well. But more than that, there is a decreasing need for labor. Automation promises to eliminate many routine as well as many complex tasks. Thus the young people have to be somewhere, and the longer their entry into the job market can be postponed, it is felt the better off they will be psychologically. A decline in mortality has meant that people work longer—they don't die off, they retire; hence the job squeeze will probably become one of the major social problems of coming generations.

Thus education for some has come to now mean education for all, to whatever level his talent and ambition will allow. Government subsidy, in the form of tuitionless colleges, low tuitions, scholarships, and other grants are making it increasingly easy for youth of any economic level to go on to college.

EDUCATION AS THE LADDER FOR UPWARD MOBILITY

There were real and positive advantages to be obtained from acquiring more

schooling. The parent, ambitious for his child, saw to it that he stayed in school as long as possible. As we have already noted, schooling in America, for many reasons, has been oriented toward the future. And this future has been seen as one tinged with success. "The more schooling, the greater the chances for success" was the formula learned early by new Americans. The school as a pathway to upward social mobility is one of the striking characteristics of the American educational scene. One did not need breeding, birth, a "name" in order to succeed in school and then in life. One needed, however, to learn the lessons of the school well, to speak good English, to have "manners," and to do as the teacher directed. Then doors could open.

The secondary schools were particularly important in this ladder of social and economic success. Organized labor recognized this fact early in the twentieth century, and became one of the most vigorous supporters of the extension of secondary education to all. Nor did the unions want vocational or trade education, or anything so specifically practical. They fought for the right of the sons of workingmen to have the kind of education that would fit them for the professions and occupations of gentlemen.

Studies indicate that this dream has not been fully realized in practice. Social class origin does make a difference. The child who comes from a poor family, whose home is culturally deprived, who uses poor English, and who lacks experience with a wider culture enters school at a disadvantage. Teachers, themselves of middle-class origin, tend to favor children who bring with them the manners and attitudes of the middle class, and they find it difficult to imbue lower-class chil-

dren with middle-class behavior, learnings, and motivations.

Although up to the end of the nineteenth century no other country had opened the doors of its schools to all in quite the generous fashion of the American public school system, the open door even here was more a bright hope than a solid reality.

Since many lower-class children—and their parents—found school alien and unrewarding, they did not at first attend in the proportion that was desired or as regularly as was expected. Along with the provision of free public schools came the next step: Even if they don't want to go, make them!

COMPULSORY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

Compulsory education had a very early start in the New World: Compulsory school laws passed by most of the New England colonies during the period 1642 to 1690 had three major purposes—to produce more skilled labor in a period when such labor was scarce; to prevent the development of a pauper class of neglected children; and, finally, to ensure proper religious instruction. However, after the opening of the eighteenth century interest in compulsory education declined. In any event, the laws had never been enforced. The decline of interest in compulsory education was due to many factors: the religious fervor was dying down; the disruption caused by the American Revolution and its aftermath; and, on a more positive note, the fact that towns were providing education to those who wanted it—a large proportion of the population. The shift was from compelling individual attendance to compelling

local authorities to maintain schools.¹⁹ It was not until 1852—two centuries after the first laws providing for the establishment of schools—that the states began to pass legislation requiring children to go to school.²⁰ By 1900 most of them had some kind of compulsory education law, although the last state did not fall into line until 1918. Insistence that all the children go to school does not mean that all would get educated, or that all would come willingly, or that all would stay the required length of time. As Burton points out in his article cited above, despite the compulsory nature of education, the curriculum and the organization of the school have not yet been adapted to educate all the children from whatever racial, ethnic, religious group, or class level they may come.

Although compulsory elementary education was nearly achieved by 1915, it took many more years of effort to extend the notion of compulsory education to the secondary level. In this connection, you who are reading this volume may reflect that probably your grandparents were not compelled to attend any school.²¹

The effectiveness of compulsory education laws is dependent on how and by whom they are enforced. In 1877, because of the failure of enforcement, the Colorado state superintendent of schools reported that American compulsory edu-

cation had not succeeded.²² Enforcement was not easy. Who should do the enforcing? What might be the penalties? In New England the first enforcement was to be by the courts (1688); in the South, justices of the peace were to oversee school attendance and levy fines up to 5000 pounds of tobacco. During the latter half of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century either ministers or lay committees were charged with persuading reluctant scholars to attend school. But since the legal status of such individuals was not clear and attendance was not required, these efforts were relatively ineffective.²³

As compulsory attendance laws were passed, new personnel were involved. At first police officers, sheriffs, deputies, and even horse doctors were entrusted with the task of finding truants. Lacking any special training for the job, they were not successful in their efforts at enforcement. The truant officer, a specially deputized employee of the schools and the courts, entered the scene early in the twentieth century. He has been pictured, and caricatured, as a big man with a big stick out to catch naughty children. This view of truancy persisted until fairly recent times. Now truancy is seen to be part of a much more complex and difficult picture than mere unwillingness to attend school. Today schools employ specially trained social workers and school psychologists who spend most of their time trying to find out why children do not attend school. Usually there is a personal or home problem that needs the help of welfare workers. Even the name "truant officer" is no longer used.

¹⁹ Newton Edwards and H. G. Richey, *The School in the American Social Order* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1947, pp. 54–60, 100–108.

²⁰ W. H. Burton, "Education and Social Class in the United States," *Harvard Educational Review*, 23:243–256 (Fall, 1953).

²¹ Marjorie B. Smiley and John S. Diekhoff, *Prologue to Teaching* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 137.

²² Chester W. Harris (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Educational Research* (3rd ed.; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1960), p. 93.

²³ *Ibid.*

Instead we find "pupil personnel worker," or "school social worker," or "school and home visitor." One can no longer say that the compulsory school attendance law is a failure in most places in the country.

Two groups suffer, however, by a kind of reverse discrimination. Some children do not attend schools because no one knows they are around; these are the children of migrant workers, who often escape the notice of school authorities because of their uncertainty of location. Another group is the Negro student in a segregated rural school system. While the school may be open almost as many days as the white schools, the efforts to keep the Negro child in school are noticeably less, as the average daily attendance reports show over the decades.

Compulsory education at least through high school is the objective of many American educators and lay leaders in public education. Is this a good thing? Should all young people be in school this long? What kind of school should it be? Such questions will be discussed in other sections of this book; you might want to think about the consequences of any policy in this area.

Compulsory education faces one severe threat today which, hopefully, will be soon resolved. When the Supreme Court declared segregated schooling unconstitutional in 1954 many districts moved quickly to comply, but the majority did not. Today two states have repealed their compulsory attendance laws as a reaction against this decree—Virginia and South Carolina. Others may follow suit. Yet the tragedy of such a move is clear. Undoubtedly better alternatives will be found so that the education of all can continue.

MAKING EDUCATION ACCESSIBLE

To make compulsory education effective, it must be available. Just to tell children to go to school but not to provide a school or a way to get to one is obviously a contradiction. Yet even today there are many thousands who cannot get to school for a variety of reasons. Here, for example, is a description of the schooling available in the back country of Alabama during the depression thirties:

School does not begin until the children shall have helped two weeks to a month in the most urgent part of the picking season, and ends in time for them to be at work on the cotton chopping.

The bus system which is now a routine of country schools is helpful, but not particularly to those who live at any distance from tax-maintained roads.

The walking, and the waiting in the cold and wetness, one day after another, to school in the morning, and home from school in the shriveling daylight, is arduous and unpleasant.

Schooling, here as elsewhere, is identified with the duller and most meager months of the year, and, in this class and country, the least and worst food and a cold noonday lunch: and could be set only worse at a disadvantage if it absorbed the pleasanter half of the year.

The "attendance problem" is evidently taken for granted, and, judging by the low number of unexcused absences, is "leniently" dealt with: the fact remains, though, that the children lose between a third and a half of each school year, and must with this handicap keep up their lessons and "compete" with town children in a contest in which competition is stressed and success in it valued and rewarded.²⁴

Compulsory attendance laws were easier to enforce with the development

²⁴ James Agee and Walker Evans, *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1960), p. 296.

of all-weather, hard-surface roads and the use of school busses to get children to school. It is easy to underestimate the impact on education of this advance. One obvious effect was that children who previously had no way to get to school could now go. And if they did not get to school, someone could go out and find them. The advantages to the city child who lived near public transportation could now be enjoyed by rural children.

The school bus made it possible to consolidate small schools into larger districts, which in turn could provide better schooling. The decline of the one-room schoolhouse is directly related to the building of roads and the buying of busses.

The expenditure of funds for school transportation was first legalized in Massachusetts in 1869, though very few schools made use of this authority. By 1900 only slightly more than one third of the states permitted public funds to be used for transporting pupils to school. Since 1920, with the coming of all-weather roads and the large motorbus, the growth of school transportation has been almost as dramatic as the growth of schools themselves. In 1920, for example, only 1.7 percent of all pupils were transported to school at public expense. Today approximately one third of all students are so transported.

In many school districts 90 percent of the students come to school by bus. Not only have rural areas been able to provide better schools and educational services; suburbia itself probably has depended as much on the school bus for its current growth as it has on almost any other factor. Can you imagine the suburbs we have today—to which so many families move as soon as they are

able—providing educational services without the flexible transportation system of the local school district?

Compulsory education, then, has stimulated new social developments, and these same developments have contributed toward the acceptance of the principle of compulsory education for all youth. The story of compulsory school laws would not be complete without considering another additional facet: the change in the length of the school year.

ESTABLISHING THE SCHOOL YEAR

The school year in colonial times varied according to the availability of a schoolmaster and the amount of money the locality could raise to keep him. Some terms were for a few weeks; others, for a few months. Where the teacher was not itinerant, some schools might schedule long hours and long terms. Thus, in New Haven in 1684 the grammar school was to be "kept nine hours a day in summer, less in winter, and six days in the week."²⁵ Some schools were mobile. In Dudley, Massachusetts, for instance, in 1743, school was kept for nine months—three in the center of town and three at each end.²⁶ Many schools were open for either five and a half or six days a week. School hours varied for boys and girls; in Dorchester, in 1784, girls were allowed to go to school from the first of June to the first of October. In Haverhill, in 1790, girls were permitted to attend for one hour in the morning and one hour in the afternoon.²⁷

²⁵ Small, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 381.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 282–283.

Where school was open the year around, children had few and short vacations. Roxbury schools in 1789, for instance, had a six-day vacation at commencement, two days off at Thanksgiving, and five additional holidays through the year. Such a long year was, of course, possible only for the children of the gentry and in the towns where the labor of the young was not needed and where the townsfolk could afford to keep a schoolmaster that long.

By 1852, when the first compulsory attendance law was passed, Massachusetts required attendance for three months; by 1873 the requirement had risen to five months. By 1920 six states required a nine-month school year, but by 1928 the average for all states was only seven months. Currently, the school year is standardized in most states at 180 days.²⁸ A school day of six hours is typical, although in some areas it is even shorter. Variations that exist are primarily between rural and urban areas. In rural areas the school year is usually shorter; the longest school year is found in urban centers. Also, there have been distinct differences in the lengths of the school year in areas having segregated schools. Kentucky, for instance, reports that in 1940 Negro schools were open only 90 percent of the time that white schools were open, but by 1956 this gap had been almost closed.²⁹ For the South as a whole, in 1940, the average length of the school year was 166 days for white students, 160 days for Negro. By 1952 the

averages were only 1 day apart: 178 days for white, 177 for Negro. That the gap was once very wide, however, is seen in the 1940 picture, when Mississippi reported 160 days of school for whites, 124 for Negro; South Carolina provided 175 days for white students, 147 for Negro. Both states moved toward substantial equality by 1953, but the white students still had some advantage.³⁰

There is no evidence from systematic research that indicates that a school year of 180 days is better than one that is shorter or longer. The school year "just grew" as a result of various pressures and in accordance with tradition. Today the length of the school year is undergoing some new questioning; the public objects to seeing school buildings idle for three months in the year, and closed after 4:00 P.M. during the school week. Many suggestions have been made for scheduling a year-round school, but so far none has survived for long because of conflict with family vacations and other factors.

Although there is no adequate justification for the length of the school day or the school year, there is somewhat more to be said for the accepted vacation schedule. When agricultural America needed the help of its youth in the fields, then obviously such demands came before schooling. In some parts of the country where regional agricultural patterns vary from the norm, school may be held in the summer in order to provide for a long fall vacation when crops are being harvested. Similarly, in the areas where winter is long and snows are deep, the school may have a long vacation in winter as well as one in summer.

²⁸ Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

²⁹ The Program Center, George Peabody College for Teachers, *Regional Action for Professional Progress* (Bulletin of the Bureau of School Service, College of Education, University of Kentucky, Lexington, 19 (No. 2): 93 (December 1956).

³⁰ Harry S. Ashmore, *The Negro and the Schools* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1954), p. 157.

However, with an ever-decreasing farm population, now amounting to less than one fifth of the nation's population, the vacation that used to serve rural needs is anachronistic in the city and in suburbia. Children and youth often find little to occupy them during idle summer months. The rising interest in tuition-free and non-compulsory summer sessions, particularly at the high school level, is an indicator that today many young people are quite willing to go back to school. Also, with the use of air conditioners in school buildings, the argument that it is too hot to study in the summer no longer holds.

The summer months have often been used for remedial and make-up work. Other programs have offered enrichment courses not otherwise available to the student, specialized or accelerated courses, and some of the "extra" courses, such as typing and driver education, which are valuable but sometimes hard to fit into the regular schedule in competition with other more traditional activities. It has been suggested, too, that camping and outdoor education can be made available to many more young people during the summer months. The summer provides a chance for some unique kinds of experimentation with methods and courses. Concentrated programs in science are available in many places. One school tried out a combination of civic education with youth service projects in a suburban city.³¹

In one city in the Southwest a summer preschool program is offered for non-English-speaking youngsters to help ready them for their first attendance at

regular school. One of the areas where we may see the most intense development is the increased provision for "twelve-month" school years. Since summer schools in many localities have come to mean make-up and remedial schools, many parents and many students eschew them simply because of this connotation. As year-round programs are now developing, those with the most promise of success and permanency will probably be those which provide offerings for all, and it may well be that some communities will incorporate the summer program with the regular year-round program.

FREE PUBLIC EDUCATION

We have to ask how free is "free"? Studies of the elementary and secondary schools of today indicate that schools are not exactly "free." It costs money to send a child to school, discounting, of course, the clothes, food, and shelter that are needed. But there are clubs to join and special events such as games, plays, subscriptions, uniforms, movies, that the school charges for, and the ever-present problem of supplies.

For example, let us take the textbook. Since schools were originally designed to teach reading and writing, obviously the students had to read something. Where would they get it? For over a century and a half each child provided his own books. Sometimes such books would be handed down through several generations, and the teacher perforce had to teach out of the book the child brought to school. In 1818 Philadelphia was the first city to provide free textbooks; in 1884 Massachusetts was the first state to provide them on a state-wide basis. By 1953 all states but one stipulated

³¹ Franklin Patterson, *Public Affairs and the High School*. (Medford, Mass.: Lincoln Film Center for Citizenship and Public Affairs, Tufts University, 1962).

that texts must or could be furnished to students.

When the locality or the state provided the texts, something radical happened: someone had to approve the texts! All students in a given grade would be using the same book. Examination of the content of texts could be accomplished by educators as well as by lay people. Money could be made by publishing books for schools to purchase. We have already noted in Chapter 10 the influence of the textbook on the curriculum; here we are concerned with the development of the free public school that eventually came to include the concept of free supplies and free books.

Yet all is not rosy: in many localities children still must buy or "rent" their books. Whether public school pupils get their books free or must rent or buy them is important to the family budget and also makes a difference in the quality of instruction. A recent *NEA Research Bulletin* provides some information for school districts 30,000 and over in population:

The great majority of districts provide textbooks free to pupils.

In the South free textbooks are usually paid for by the state; in the Middle Atlantic and New England states free textbooks are generally paid for by the local school districts.

Proportionally more smaller school districts than larger districts have rental systems or depend upon state financing of free textbooks.

Where pupils must rent their textbooks, some kind of assistance is usually provided to those who cannot afford the fees.³²

In addition, as schools added new services, tax sources often could not keep up with the provision of such added services

and activities. In 1949, for instance, it was stated that it cost the average student \$125 per year to attend the "free" secondary school.³³ In 1952 a study conducted in Texas schools showed very similar results, indicating to the authors of the survey that for many students school was too expensive.³⁴ And it is from the lower socioeconomic group, which cannot afford the free school, that most of our dropouts come.

Thus the battle for the free school has not yet been wholly won.

SUMMARY

Historical accident has produced a unique American educational pattern. Its characteristics are lay control at a local level; public support of common schooling from the primary grades through the secondary school, and the public colleges and universities; compulsory education through adolescence for all. The attainment of this system was not an overnight occurrence although the roots of the public school system we know now were laid in early colonial experience, the system itself evolved over many decades. Nor was the progress of education the same in all the regions of the United States.

Such factors as child labor laws and all-weather highways and school busses have meant that children could get to school and could stay in school. The ideal of a free public education has been

³³ Illinois Secondary School Curriculum Program, "How to Conduct the Hidden Tuition Costs Study," Bulletin No. 4, May 1949.

³⁴ Bascom Hayes, *Hidden Tuition Costs in Selected Texas Secondary Schools* (Austin: The Texas Study of Secondary Education, 1953).

³² *NEA Research Bulletin*, 37 (No. 3): 95 (October 1959).

realized only in part, for significant inequalities still exist. The cost of an education is not wholly borne by tax funds; hence children and youth from lower socioeconomic levels cannot afford to remain in school and many leave. There are still some significant unresolved issues. In the next chapter we shall consider some other aspects of the American institution and their historical roots.

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12 *The Development of the Modern School System: II*

"How terrible! You mean Junior didn't get promoted? Why that means he will be too old for his grade; other kids his age will be way ahead of him!"

"Do you think Mary Ann ought to skip? After all, she is rather young for her age and will feel out of things with an older group."

Have you ever heard conversations like these? Probably most of you have; perhaps you were even the subject of such conversations. Implicit in the quotations above is the idea that there is a proper age for every grade. Did you ever stop to wonder if this is really so. Where did this idea come from? After all, as you have read in Chapter 5, children differ greatly in their ability, their

growth and development, their interests, their maturity at any given age. Then why this notion of a regular age-grade movement up the educational ladder?

Another question that may never have been raised before in your mind is why elementary school should start for children age five and one half or six, should last for six years and then change into a three-year junior high and a three-year senior high school. Why college for four years? These segments of the school system developed almost haphazardly and accidentally. Does this mean we ought to keep them as we inherited them? If they are to be changed, how? By whom?

This chapter will look at the historical development of some of these features of our public school system. These are often taken so much for granted that we tend to overlook them. By knowing where current practices come from, perhaps we will be better able to evaluate the suggestions for change.

EDUCATING THE BEGINNER

The elementary school, as we have seen, developed out of two parts of the early New England school. The dame school, usually kept by a woman teacher, was primarily for girls but also admitted boys who needed to be taught the rudiments of reading and writing. Also, the dame school was for the very young child. Early regulations said that no child was to be sent until he could at least stand up by himself. After acquiring a start in reading and writing, either at the dame school or at home, boys—and sometimes girls—would proceed to the Latin grammar school. This school enrolled the child for as many years as it might take him to master a set curriculum, usually about five years of instruction. A youngster might be in a dame school two

or three years, then in the grammar school for another five or six. Eventually both schools were combined into one.

This shift took place gradually, however. First the Latin grammar schools were modified into English grammar schools; instruction was in English and somewhat more practical and useful things were taught, such as arithmetic and drafting. Then, with fewer and fewer children being prepared at home for entry into the Latin or English grammar schools, the function of the dame school was grafted onto the beginning of the grammar school, thus extending it downward. It was both cheaper and more sensible to have all the precollege students in one building.

However, this still did not quite suffice. Academies had developed which, although reaching many of the older boys who would have been in grammar school, offered a rather different kind of education. Eventually, through a process of evolution, the academy developed into the last few years of preparation for either a trade or college, and the first part of the grammar school education remained attached to the education of the beginners.

In time, the school attendance of a child thus came to be made up of two periods. The beginning or elementary schooling extended for seven or eight years, and the secondary or college preparatory schooling took four or more additional years.

Each segment of the school was taught in a single building, essentially a one-room schoolhouse in which all students were given the same program of study through which to progress at their own rates. The sequence of study provided for beginners is illustrated by the report of the New York City schools for the

year 1819: beginners learned their letters in sand, then learned monosyllabic reading on boards, from there to Murray's *First Book*, from this to writing on slates, thence to writing on paper. Next they progressed to reading in the Bible, then to addition and subtraction. After this they went to multiplication and division, compounds, reduction, and the rule of three.¹ When the sequence was completed, the child could then move on to another school building for the next course sequence in the Latin grammar school.

A school building enrolled children of a given age grouping for a specific sequence of instruction, and then "promoted" them to another building to go on to the next sequence. In the ever-growing towns and cities there was constant need for new buildings. With each new building some method was needed to classify children who were to attend. Promotion from one division or school building to another was based on the passing of formal examinations.²

These early divisions of the educational sequence enrolled large groups of students. As many as 300 might be seated in a large main room where the master held forth. Adjoining such large rooms might be two or more small recitation rooms where assistants listened to the lessons. In grammar schools there were often two parallel schools, one on each floor. One would be the writing school, the other the reading school, each enrolling several hundred pupils at a time. Such a structure was in vogue for nearly half a century. This marked the second

¹ Ellwood P. Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1947), p. 304.

² *Ibid.*, p. 309.

stage in the evolution of the graded school.

The third stage was reached when the school building was organized into independent classrooms, each with a master in charge, and holding no more than fifty people at a time. The students then had to be sorted into grades or groups and a course of instruction for each year established.

The inspiration for this system was the report by Horace Mann, in 1844, then superintendent of schools in Massachusetts and one of the great leaders in the development of public education. Mann had visited Prussia, where he had seen graded schools in action. His report on these schools gave further impetus to a process already evolving.

It was a short step from there to age-graded classrooms in a school presided over by a principal-teacher or full-time administrator.

How successful was this new practice? The following comment suggests that all was not well with the graded-school concept:

The search for ways of grouping effectively has been going on for about a century. In the simpler days of the one-room school, not even the graded system, which we take for granted, had been developed. It is commonly thought that the old phrase "in the fourth reader" meant the same as being in the fourth grade, but that was not wholly true. In the old, ungraded room with children of all ages, the teacher "placed" each child where he seemed to fit best, for reading, for arithmetic, and for everything else. Whatever else might have been wrong with the system, it did not lack flexibility. Within the limits of the teacher's time, it permitted treating each child as an individual. Today some highly advanced school systems are experimenting once more with ungraded rooms, usually covering a span of two to four years.

In 1848 the Quincy Grammar School of Boston set up the first organization of graded rooms in which we of today would feel at home. By 1860 nearly all cities used the system. And by 1870 they were already in trouble with it! For they had gone, almost overnight, from great flexibility to almost complete rigidity.

The basic idea of the new graded system was to keep together children who could handle similar subject matter, with virtually no attention to any other factor. It was the first big try for "homogeneity."

A child was not to be promoted until he had mastered the content of the grade he was in, or he could skip a grade if it appeared that he could handle the subjects he would be required to take. The result was a tremendous amount of retardation, along with some acceleration. It was common for 30 or 40 percent to repeat the first grade, and in a typical school 20 percent of all the pupils were repeating last year's work. Many pupils were retarded as much as three years.

The system failed completely. In human terms it led to a mix-up; big, lubberly lads teamed up with little ones, girls whose chief concern was dates paired off with girls whose main interest was dolls. The attempt to get homogeneity had resulted in greater heterogeneity.

Even in subject-matter achievement, the system did not produce the expected leveling of abilities. By and large, "repeaters" did not "master" the grade they repeated. It was proved that they did not learn as much in the second year as they would have if they had been promoted. Furthermore, it was shown that excessive retardation had disastrous effects on pupils' morale. Drop-out rates became incredibly high. Probably no educational "solution" has ever been more completely discredited. By 1910 excessive retardation was close to a national scandal, and school systems were scrambling to achieve a "normal" age-grade distribution as a proof of their goodness. Today's critics of annual promotion, who still believe it is silly to promote a child out of a grade for which he has not yet mastered the material, might profit from studying the history of

requiring pupils to master certain subjects at each grade level.³

The fact that age in and of itself was an inadequate criterion for school progress was soon realized, as the statement above points out. What could be done? Individual instruction plans evolved, among them the contract or Winnetka plan, whereby individuals completed certain set pieces of work at their own pace and then went on to the next piece of work. This provided only a partial answer and was mechanically difficult to administer to large groups.

With World War I and the development of intelligence tests a new possibility for grouping appeared. Mental age was combined with chronological age and classes of children were thus divided on a new basis. Again such ability grouping failed to satisfy its promise. Homogeneity was not really achieved, and, besides, group tests of intelligence were found not to be too reliable. Also, even if children were divided by ability, the content and course of study was not, so the dull continued to fail and the bright did not "zoom up like a rocket if they were freed from their duller peers."⁴

The controversy over what is an adequate method for grouping children for instruction continues. We shall discuss this issue later in connection with promotion policies. The important concept here, however, is that age-grading and the graded school developed not through any careful study of children and of their learning needs, but as an expedient to

take care of large groups of youngsters. It became an accepted part of the system almost before anyone had a clear notion of what it might really mean in terms of instruction.

THE ONE-ROOM SCHOOLHOUSE

One significant carry-over from the ungraded primary or elementary school was the one-room schoolhouse which dotted the rural landscape. Here, in the wide, open country of America where populations were thin and scattered, there were neither enough children to have large graded schools, nor any means to get children from home to school even if a large school had been feasible.

What was the "little red schoolhouse" like? By today's standards it could hardly be called an adequate school, but for the period when it flourished on the frontier it provided the means to literacy for the mass of America in a way no other country had previously known. The students typically ranged in age from beginners to adolescents. In many schools there were not enough of any one age or level of achievement for the teacher to group them for instruction. The typical procedure was for the teacher to "hear" lessons one by one, lessons which consisted primarily of copying or memorizing.

Early American literature is replete with descriptions of the wild discipline enforced in such schools. The older boys in particular are reputed, by report and legend, to have come to school mainly for the fun of baiting or battling the teacher. Yet the teacher who could conquer these older boys, and in the process perhaps teach them a bit, supposedly won the admiration of the whole area.

³ "The Problems and the Possibilities," *California Journal of Elementary Education*, 27:73-81 (November 1958). Reprinted by permission of the California Department of Education.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 27-76.

Since attendance laws did not exist or if, on the books, were not enforced in rural America until much later, attendance was limited to those with unusually interested parents or those with demonstrated ability to benefit from schooling.

The teachers were often little older than their pupils, and in many instances had had little more than a few years of high school themselves. The buildings were poorly heated and poorly furnished; the materials of instruction were most limited.

The following report on the one-room schoolhouse is typical:

A woman teacher would begin the school year at \$28 a month. But came the winter months, and from the woods and fields crept loutish overgrown lads, "aiming for a few months of schoolin'." The schoolmarm was soon in retreat, and until school let out, a man's firm hand was needed at \$44 a month.

What were the teachers like? Save for a few dedicated scholarly pedagogues, the teachers were an ill-assorted, ill-prepared collection of youngsters too immature to get another job; part-time teachers who kept school to earn some extra money; and so-called "irregulars," described by one superintendent, as "vampires, drawing the life blood from the schools and making no adequate returns."

And what about that neat little rural school nestled among rolling hills and murmuring pines?

The fiction that it was always red has been exploded. It was seldom white either, but rather a dirty montage of grey, brown, and black. Many were of log construction, planned by farmers, blacksmiths. "anybody except a school teacher."

The logs were daubed between to keep out the cold, and foundations were banked to floor level, but nevertheless, in the winter the drinking water froze over in an open pail by the stove.

Inside, children were packed on benches, "like 300 mackerel in a two-gallon cask." The teacher strained his eyes to read by

holding his book close to one of the few small windows.⁵

The prevalence of the one-teacher school in our collective memories is probably due to the fact that it was the most common school experience for a great many children not so long ago. The statistics show that as late as forty-two years ago 71 percent of all public schools were one-teacher schools, staffed by one third of all the classroom teachers, and attended by one fourth of all school children. No wonder it looms so large in grandfather's recollections! Today, about 400,000 children go to one-teacher schools, staffed by 2 percent of the classroom teachers in the country. Unlike the young, unmarried high school girl graduates of twenty-one who were the typical schoolmarms of forty-five years ago, today's typical one-room teacher is forty-five, is married, has children of her own, and has had at least two years of training beyond high school. Unfortunately, they are also paid less well than the average teacher in the country. The schoolroom may still be heated by a pot-bellied stove (not very efficiently) and water may still be brought in or drawn from a well or a cistern in two thirds of today's one-room schools!⁶

Yet the little red schoolhouse has stood for decades as the symbol of free and universal public education. The limitations of such schooling are apparent to us today. At the same time, the passing of the one-room schoolhouse from the scene represents to many the passing of an era of innocence. In a mass society, with changes of appalling swiftness and

⁵ Richard P. Bailey, "Who Wants to Go Back?" *NEA Journal*, 48:55 (April 1960).

⁶ David Iwamoto, "Remember Me? I'm a One-Teacher School," *NEA Journal*, 49:24-25 (April 1960).

significance impinging upon us at every moment, the era when the little red schoolhouse flourished is indeed one to which we can look back with a special kind of nostalgia. Yet to believe that the education of that time was in any way the equal of what we have today is to misread history.

FROM LATIN GRAMMAR TO COMPREHENSIVE HIGH SCHOOL

As has been noted earlier, the first secondary schools were primarily college preparatory. They were taught in Latin; hence the name "Latin grammar." The subjects taught were those necessary for admission to colleges of the day: Latin, Greek, arithmetic. In the first half of the nineteenth century several more subjects were added: English grammar, algebra, geometry, and ancient history.⁷ As such subjects were now taught in English, the name of the school changed from "Latin grammar" to "English grammar." In competition with these schools were the academies. Although many subjects taught in the academies were similar to those taught in the Latin school, the addition of more "practical" courses, with an emphasis on science and mathematics, marked their program. These schools, moreover, drew their students from a wider area and so escaped the imposition of a narrow sectarianism. Courses in bookkeeping, surveying, and navigation illustrate the practical emphasis of many academies. While offering

this more practical curriculum, the academy also provided a college preparatory program.

The public high school which we know today developed from attempts to provide for all who wanted it the kind of education available for a fee at the academies. Thus it was natural to find the high school offering a college preparatory program and at the same time giving practical course or courses that would add a patina of culture to those who would go no farther.

Despite the fact that the common core of secondary education continued to be those courses which prepare for college admission, the American high school was also to be a very practical institution. Our distrust of "book learning" was mollified by the early addition of practical courses to the curriculum of the academy. Clearly, if a boy knew bookkeeping he would be a great help to a nation developing shops and industries at a rapid rate. As women took an increasing place in the business world it was helpful if the secondary school gave them training that prepared them to be clerks or typists or stenographers. A little scientific knowledge applied to farming seemed to result in better production, so agricultural programs were added to the public school.

The pattern established for federal support for agricultural vocational education, which was the basis for the land-grant colleges established in 1863, was adapted later to secondary education. The Smith-Hughes legislation of 1917 provided federal support for secondary school programs which would give needed instruction in scientific agriculture as well as develop a pool of skilled

⁷ R. Freeman Butts and Lawrence A. Cremin, *History of Education in American Culture* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1953) pp. 275-280.

manpower required by the expanding war needs of World War I.

The addition of federal money to the secondary school program was a tremendous impetus toward the establishment of agricultural and homemaking programs in rural areas and vocational education and homemaking classes in cities.

It is of interest to note the different development in other countries, where the academic secondary school has been in a separate building from any of the practical or vocational subjects. As we shall note in Chapter 14, the growth of parallel school programs in separate institutions has some very significant social implications. In America, with the practical and the academic housed under the same roof, the separation, while there, was far less obvious. Also, with typical American practicality, many introductory homemaking and industrial arts courses were required for all students, no matter what their eventual goal, thus making separation of the student body by vocational goals very difficult.

The development of this kind of comprehensive institution, although again an historical accident, may be considered both a product and a cause of America's remarkable technological development. Without this large pool of skilled labor, knowledgeable about tools and interested in working with them, it is hardly possible that we could now have the kind of gadget-happy country we enjoy. There may be some serious questions regarding the social consequences of the general acceptance of all kinds of machinery, tools, and gadgets, but there is no doubt that it has also contributed to the high level of living available to most Americans.

THE CARNEGIE UNIT

In these few pages we cannot begin to sketch adequately the story of the secondary school. The significant features, however, are worthy of closer attention. For instance, have you ever wondered why most secondary school courses today meet for one hour (a forty-five- to fifty-minute hour) five days a week?

An interesting historical accident is responsible for today's ubiquitous Carnegie unit. As any high school graduate knows, he must accumulate so many units to emerge with a diploma. Schools count them somewhat differently, but they add up to the same thing in essence. And the origin of the unit idea is the same.

When secondary schools were being set up in community after community in the latter part of the nineteenth century, a measuring rod of wider application was needed than the yardstick used when there were fewer secondary schools and colleges. How could one tell without an examination whether a student had actually been instructed "enough" in any given subject? The answer, obviously, was to state that he had spent so many hours and so many days and weeks in the study of the subject. The early attempts to define a unit were formulated in the reports made in 1906 and 1907 by President Henry S. Pritchett of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. The Carnegie unit, as it has come to be called, had its origin in his recommendations. And what was this recommendation based upon? The initial motivation was to find a means of evaluating colleges for the purpose of granting retirement allowances to professors by the Carnegie Foundation. The

professors of a college which accepted fifteen "units" of high school work for admission could qualify for retirement benefits.⁸

Why, one might ask, go to such a roundabout way to establish the quality of a college! In any event, the formulation of a yardstick to measure the quantity of high school preparation was welcomed by the profession. A standard had been set, it was adopted by colleges (for obvious financial reasons), and in turn it set the pattern for the high schools.

A Carnegie unit consists of 120 hours of classroom instruction spread over 36 weeks of school time, and including out-of-class preparation. States vary in the number of units required for graduation, but the largest number (34) require 16 units. Such courses as physical education, art, or industrial arts are sometimes given a half or a quarter credit toward graduation.⁹

Thirty-five years ago the dangers of overemphasis on credits were forcibly pointed out:

Criticism has often been leveled of late at high school and college students because they are credit seekers. As a matter of fact, the formal high school . . . is a credit institution. Diplomas, promotions, school honors—everything is given in terms of credits earned, and these credits are thought of as "courses passed" or in terms of daily assignments completed, recitations made

satisfactorily, book reports completed on time. Graduation depends on the completion of fifteen Carnegie units. (Grim irony of fate!) The social objectives are of no significance to the formal school. . . .¹⁰

The pattern into which these fifteen or sixteen units should fall was established in large part by the college entrance examinations required by the elite private colleges. In 1877 President Eliot of Harvard suggested a college entrance examination board, but this was not put into operation until 1900. The subjects that were covered by the examinations then became the constant elements in the college preparatory curriculums of the secondary schools.¹¹

The quick adoption of the Carnegie unit as a way of measuring student exposure to learning resulted in freezing the high school program into a "schedule" marked off by fifty-minute classes. Although administratively easy, the net effect of the Carnegie unit has been to restrict needed course and organizational change in the secondary school, much as the standard age-grade sequence has interfered with rational program building at the elementary school level. With the increased demand for educational efficiency it is possible that some of these archaic procedures will be rigorously examined and, where these are found inadequate, replaced by more rational ones.

⁸ Walter S. Monroe (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Educational Research* (rev. ed.; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950), p. 1181; Newton Edwards and H. G. Richey, *The School in the American Social Order: Dynamics of American Education* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1947), p. 740.

⁹ *State Accreditation of High Schools* (Bulletin 1955, No. 5; Washington, D.C.: U.S. Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1955).

¹⁰ Department of Superintendency of the National Education Association of the United States, *The Development of the High School Curriculum* (Sixth Yearbook of the Department; Washington, D.C.: The Department, 1928.)

¹¹ Jean D. Grambs, "What Do We Know about the High School?" in Franklin Patterson et al., *The Adolescent Citizen* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1960), Chap. 2.

It is interesting, too, to speculate about another by-product of the system of credits for courses. Many school systems use a method of differentiating "major" and "minor" courses or "prepared" versus "nonprepared" courses. What is usually meant is that the subject does or does not require homework. Courses which require homework and are in the college preparatory program or are part of the required block of subjects (English, social studies, science, and mathematics) will be given a full credit in the sum to be counted for graduation. Other courses, such as journalism, dramatics, art, or music, may be given three fourths of a credit or half a credit toward graduation.

Implicit in this system is a kind of equating of courses in terms of supposed difficulty or amount of student time or effort required. We might want to consider whether a unit of physics is the same as a unit of required English. And when is a course in bookkeeping or mechanical drawing equivalent to one in United States history? As a result of mass education and the pressure to achieve some kind of accounting system that could be readily utilized for millions of young people, the credit system has the appearance of a rational solution. Yet even as the system appears rational on the surface, it takes only a modest question to reveal the unfounded assumptions on which it is based. Can learning actually be standardized into measurable and countable units, like so many eggs, cans of vegetables, or squares of tile? As we move into ever more complex educational expectations, we may well have to re-examine critically the secondary school credit-course procedure.

INFLUENCE OF COLLEGE REQUIREMENTS

Each of these features of today's school which we now take so much for granted emerged slowly. The core of today's secondary school is its academic program. That is, no matter how small the school, any of its students who wish can take those courses required for college admission. Even when the actual proportion of graduates who go on to higher institutions is very small, the school still makes sure that these requirements are available. Now it may be argued that preparation for college is also the best preparation for life, but this is an argument that may need some further investigation.

Why is it that the secondary school is so closely tied to entrance to college? Historically we can see where the Latin and then the English grammar schools had this as their only function. The academies, branching out somewhat into practical fields, also offered preparation for college. Then when the poor man's academy emerged—the public high school—it was the wish and hope of many a working-class parent that through this institution his son or daughter could aspire to higher things. Thus the support that organized labor gave to the establishment of the free public high school at the beginning of the twentieth century was as much to demand the opportunity for college preparation as for any other purpose. Labor did not ask for apprentice programs or for practical education; rather, labor leadership felt that when the free secondary school became available to the masses and could prepare all the children adequately for college, then the security of an elite based on

inherited wealth would be really challenged.

On what basis were college requirements set, since they have had such a crucial role in establishing the basic program of the secondary school? We must admit at the outset that college requirements were based on tradition. Institutions change slowly, and colleges and universities are among the slowest to to change. It has been taken for granted for decades that students who have had mathematics, science, English, some history, and possibly a foreign language are more or less prepared for college. Such an assumption, of course, does not take into account what college education is like.

It might be of interest to examine the record of one of the few large-scale studies and experiments which challenged this view. A study undertaken during the 1930's was called the Eight-Year Study. As its name implies, it was designed to last for eight years and to follow students through four years of secondary school and four years of college. The major premise was that if colleges would relax their requirements, as noted above, and would take students who had demonstrated competence in a variety of ways in different kinds of learning situations, then high schools could also relax their rigid organizations and do a genuine job of preparation for college and/or life. Thirty secondary schools representing all kinds of situations—large, small, city, suburban, private—were represented. The schools undertook some interesting experiments with course content and subject matter approaches. Some of the schools were truly radical in their departure from the standard offerings. Students, on the recommendations of teachers and principals, were ad-

mitted to colleges and universities from these unorthodox schools. Study of their performance in college showed that they did as well as, if not better than, students similar in ability but graduated from standard schools. And in terms of leadership and social adjustment, the experimental group seemed to do better.

What happened to this study? Unfortunately, it was reported when the world was teetering on the edge of a second world war. Soon all national energies were devoted to the war effort. School experimentation took time, energy, and sometimes money. Thus the fruits of this study, which might have moved education forward beyond where we now are, were laid aside. Today, some of the newer suggestions in course offerings and methods of school organization are reminiscent of things tried during the Eight-Year Study.

THE JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

The junior high school is one of the few deliberately devised pieces of the educational sequence. The other grade organizations "just grew"; the junior high school was planned. In the early 1900's President Eliot of Harvard was distressed by what he considered the inadequate preparation of students for college. (This, incidentally, as you may have sensed by now, has been a frequent refrain heard in the halls and rooms of colleges for a century and a half.) He felt that college years were being wasted on subjects that ought to have been mastered before entry. By reorganizing the upper grades of elementary school, he suggested, high school subjects could be taught sooner, thus making for better later preparation. Educators had been distressed during this

same period about the fact that relatively few students continued on to high school after completing the eighth grade. It was felt that a different organizational plan for these older elementary school students might induce them to stay longer in school, particularly if they were treated as more mature students. Another important factor in the development of a junior high school was that such a school would provide an opportunity to give some practical vocational training to boys and girls who would not be going on to senior high school.

The combination of these several forces resulted in the astonishingly quick acceptance of the junior high school as part of the twelve-year public school sequence. In some instances the school system became organized along a 6-3-3 plan. In other places it might be 6-2-4; in still others, 5-3-4. The most common separation is, however, the 6-3-3 plan. The junior high in this situation is still linked closely with the senior high school, since the ninth-grade courses "count" for high school graduation and college admission. Thus the junior high is likely to be a somewhat hybrid institution, not clearly organized with a coherent purpose to suit the needs of the young adolescent.

KINDERGARTENS AND NURSERY SCHOOLS

The American school system has succeeded in keeping more young people in school longer than has any other country in the world. One element in this story has been the years of schooling added on at either end of the traditional twelve.

College education was accepted for a small minority of students at the very beginning of formal education in Amer-

ica, but an early start in school was considered quite acceptable for all children in order to teach them the rudiments of literacy. Records are not clear as to the age of entry in the first common schools, but various sources suggest that children were sent to the dame school, to a tutor, or to a schoolmaster at almost any age from three to eight. The parents' interests and the availability of instructional facilities appear to have been the main factors operating. As towns grew and as schools became larger, tradition established age five, six, or seven as the age of first entry into school. From our observations today it is probable that early schoolmasters realized that most children younger than this were not ready to learn to read and write.

A movement to offer some kind of educational experience for younger children occurred in Germany in the 1830's as a result of the educational work of Friedrich Froebel. He delighted in the natural world of the child, emphasizing that early school should be a place for the free growth of the child's spirit. Many of his ideas, carried to America by his writing and by those who visited his schools, are still in evidence today: building blocks, song, dance, and educational games.¹²

The infant schools of France and England were well established in the mid-1800's. The one established by Robert Owen, incorporating the educational ideas of Johann Pestalozzi, the famous Swiss educator, was a place where the joy of early childhood was celebrated. Interestingly enough, the idea of the kindergarten as a very different kind of

¹² Luella Cole, *A History of Education* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1950), pp. 527-539.

"school" was adopted by Americans who brought the idea to this country about a century ago. Early kindergartens were not a part of the common school sequence. To this day the kindergarten provides a program which has few of the elements of formal education to be found in the primary grades. Whether this line of demarcation is a valid one is now the subject of much debate. Perhaps children today, exposed to so many educational influences far earlier than ever before, may be ready for somewhat more formal kinds of instruction during the year or so before the first grade. On the other hand, as many educators point out, learning to learn can take place without the usual classroom kind of activity, and perhaps what the good kindergarten does is to give the child a necessary sense of security in a large group and helps him to feel joy in exploration and curiosity.

Although in many places in the United States the kindergarten is still not a part of the public school system, in other areas it is accepted and tuition-free for all who want to attend. The public has not agreed completely that this kind of schooling should be tax-supported.

During the war years, when many mothers were working in defense plants, new kinds of preschools were opened: nursery schools and all-day kindergartens and day-care centers. These kinds of facilities, though known in a few places for many years, were greatly expanded through support from federal funds. The nursery school, like the kindergarten, is a place where the pace the children set is the overriding consideration, and the school itself is organized to enrich their experiences rather than instruct them. Day-care centers and nursery schools either are privately financed or are on a partial welfare basis today. However,

with increasing numbers of young mothers working, it is probable that the nursery school, like the kindergarten before it, will come to be more accepted as part of the public school system.

One of the more interesting aspects of these newer additions to the school program is that, being newer, they can more readily be in accord with what is known about children. Also, since the early years of childhood seem to the lay public to be "less important" educationally speaking, there is less likely to be any kind of opposition if such schools are "modern" or "progressive." But when scientific knowledge is applied to the learning procedures of later school grades, then great fear is sometimes expressed that something terrible is happening to the minds of the young. There are many educators who note that college and university instruction and organization have changed very little basically for over a century. They argue further that our secondary schools are far behind the practices the modern behavioral sciences tell us they should be following. The elementary school probably is less behind in utilizing the best we know, while the practices followed by the modern kindergarten and nursery school may be almost consistent with our knowledge of child growth and development and learning!

THE JUNIOR COLLEGE

The most recent addition to the public school sequence is the public junior college as part of a fourteen-year sequence of instruction. It is possible in some states for a child to be in a publicly supported nursery school or day-care center at the age of three and remain in a tuition-free public school system until graduation

from junior college at age twenty and have the total experience considered part of his common schooling. It is probable that this picture will become more typical as the decades roll by.

Studies have shown that accessibility of a college increases the student's chances of attendance. In cities with junior colleges or city colleges within a short bus ride from home, students of college age who are enrolled in college represent a much higher proportion of that age group than is found in areas where a college is not so easy to reach.

The junior college became a significant addition to our public school system during the past twenty-five years. First, an increasing number of jobs, such as dental technician, draftsman, laboratory technician, and electronics technician, require more education than high school can offer but somewhat less than colleges provide. Many students have neither the interest in nor the money and time for more than two more years of training. The junior college is ideally adapted to provide these kinds of curriculums. Second, the junior college provides parallel college courses which correspond to the courses a student could take in a regular liberal arts program. Having successfully taken these courses the student can then transfer to a four-year institution and graduate with a regular bachelor's degree. The two years at the junior college relieve the colleges of overcrowding and also permit the student who is not quite sure of his interest or ability a chance to find out if he really wants to go further. The exploratory and community service aspects of the junior college program mark it as a rather distinctive institution with some very specific purposes and functions.

Today the growth of junior colleges is

one of the most significant new trends in education.

EDUCATION NEVER ENDS: ADULT EDUCATION

The history of the United States reflects the lively curiosity of our forefathers. While we know they had a keen and persistent interest in the education of young people, we also find evidence down the centuries of their interest in the further education of adults. Benjamin Franklin, a leader in the famous "Junto," a group of young Philadelphia men meeting more or less regularly as a discussion group, also established one of the first subscription libraries, the object of which was adult education. The early mechanics institutes, some of which survive today in our large cities, are additional evidence of the interest in self-improvement characteristic of Americans to this day. The lyceum movement and the Chautauqua lectures are early forebears of today's adult education programs.

When immigration was at its highest, adult education received a new impetus. Earlier efforts were aimed either at job-grading, as were the classes for mechanics, or at a kind of genteel cultural pursuit by gentlemen of means. With the coming of thousands of non-English-speaking immigrants who sought to meet the requirements of citizenship, the adult evening school was a needed addition to the regular school program. For many new citizens, it was their first formal contact with the American community. Here was the melting pot in action: all these different "foreigners" were to learn English, to learn the basic process of demo-

cratic government, and to gain a loyalty to their new country.¹³

This kind of education, indeed, was an absolute essential in the process of integrating into the American stream these many thousands from vastly differing cultural backgrounds. The process was not an easy one for either student or teacher. The opening paragraphs of one of the most delightful books on American education describe some traumatic moments in an Americanization class:

In the third week of the new term, Mr. Parkhill was forced to the conclusion that Mr. Kaplan's case was rather difficult. Mr. Kaplan first came to his special attention, out of the thirty-odd adults in the beginners' grade of American Night Preparatory School for Adults ("English--Americanization--Civics--Preparatory for Naturalization"), through an exercise the class had submitted. The exercise was entitled "Fifteen Common Nouns and Their Plural Forms." Mr. Parkhill came to one paper which included the following:

house makes houses
dog makes dogies
library makes Public library
cat makes Katz

Mr. Parkhill read this over several times very thoughtfully. He decided that here was a student who might, unchecked, develop into a "problem case." It was clearly a case that called for special attention. He turned the page over and read the name. It was printed in large, firm letters with red crayon. Each letter was outlined in blue. Between every two letters was a star, carefully drawn, in green. The multi-colored whole spelled, unmistakably, H*y*m*a*n K*a*p*l*a*n.¹⁴

¹³ C. Hartley Grattan, *American Ideas about Adult Education: 1710-1951* (New York: Teachers College, Bureau of Publications, Columbia University, 1959).

¹⁴ Leonard Q. Ross, *The Education of Hyman Kaplan* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1937), pp. 3-4.

The adventures of Mr. Parkhill and Mr. Kaplan in their search for mutual enlightenment comprise one of the classics of American literature. The episodes are a poignant picture of what the Americanization program has meant in the lives of thousands of new Americans.

Today most school districts of any size offer a variety of programs for adults as a matter of course. There are night high schools for those who have not finished the regular day program. Such programs enroll the young dropout as well as many an older person who wants, finally, to have the satisfaction of a high school diploma. There are special programs for technical and commercial skills, such as typing, blueprint reading, stenography. Many courses are offered for practical self and home improvement, such as nutrition, clothing, wood shop, auto repair. Apprentice programs are often part of the adult education offering. Finally, there are special courses which are for general education. The Great Books Program is one of the best known of the modern adult education programs. Under specially trained leaders interested adults meet in small discussion groups to read and talk about the classics of Western thought. Other programs have been developed around art, other cultures, political problems and issues, and so forth. The adult education offerings in many large cities are more extensive than many a university presents.

The teacher in an adult evening school is likely to be a special kind of person who finds his work particularly rewarding. He is working with his age peers whose appreciation of his efforts is likely to be expressed in a very direct way. Also, his classes are made up of volunteers who come because they *want* to

learn, most often for no credit and with no degree or diploma in mind. The adult education program is usually particularly responsive to public need: if a group of ten or more wants a particular class, then usually it can be offered—from hat trimming to cake decorating to bricklaying to parking cars in parking lots. This kind of flexibility of program has made adult education a most rewarding area of teaching.

CLIMBING THE EDUCATIONAL LADDER

In very brief fashion we have described some of the major trends in the development of the various identifiable segments of the American public school system and have pointed out some of the anachronisms that have inevitably grown along with the institutions. We have noted that it is possible for a child to enter public school at age three and stay until he finishes college, all the while remaining within the jurisdiction of a single school system.

We shall look now at two aspects of our school which are peculiarly and uniquely American and which are a by-product of the kind of school sequence we have described. One is the process of “promotion”; the other is the process of reporting student progress—grades and report cards.

Typically we talk about moving up the educational ladder: being promoted from grade to grade. The problem of the graded school was pointed out in an early section of this chapter. History tells us only a little about the development of the concept of promotion.

In the little one-room schoolhouse children were sorted by “readers.” A child

stayed with a book until he knew it to the satisfaction of the master; then he was given the next harder book in the sequence. As more and more children were reading the same reader they were classified into a grade. And it was easier to move at the same time all the children who had finished a book even though some would spurt ahead while others lagged behind. The latter problem, however, was far easier to handle than the former. The laggards could be “kept back” to stay with the reader until they could do as well as they were expected. Again, however, if a laggard managed to master his book in mid-year, he would still have to wait until the rest of the class was ready to move ahead, because there was no place to put those who got out of step with the group.

The emergence of new textbooks in the early 1800’s was a significant factor in spurring the development of the age-graded group. Such texts soon came to be rigorously graded. Basic to the system which finally emerged in most city schools by the 1870’s was the concept of promotion from one level of instruction to the next harder level. Included in this concept was the idea of completion or graduation. Many of you probably remember the stirring description of the graduation exercises in *Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm*. What a memory of achievement! This ceremony, participated in by nervous and overdressed youngsters, was the climax of their school years.

A classic study of the impact of the graded program and the promotion policies then in vogue was made by Ayres in 1909. He found that nearly 33 percent of all the children in the schools studied were retarded or below the grade expected of their age. Said Ayres at that

time: "It is not at all a problem concerning a few underdeveloped or feeble-minded children. It is one affecting most intimately perhaps 6,000,000 children in the United States."¹⁵ In our previous discussion concerning the differences between boys and girls in achievement, we were talking about schools today. In 1909, Ayres pointed out that boys repeated grades far more than did girls and that fewer boys finished eight years of schooling. He went on to state: "These facts mean that our schools as at present constituted are far better fitted to the needs of girls than they are to those of the boys."¹⁶ In this respect fifty years of education has not meant progress.

The facts that Ayres reported startled the educational world. One result was to develop a system of regular promotion for most students. This so-called "social promotion" policy has been the subject of much public debate.

The problem is, of course, not an easy one. Certainly children should move through their instructional program at a regular rate, but even this statement will attract some argument. Try it on someone you know who is not a parent of a school-age child. Failure, you may be told, is a "molder of character"; it is sometimes "good for us." If this argument appeals to you or to the person with whom you are talking, review the growth stages necessary for the healthy personality as these were identified by Erikson as cited in Chapter 5. Now think once more about the role of failure in individual life.

Numerous studies have been made of the effects of promotion and nonpromotion. The best recent compilation and discussion of these studies are to be found in a volume by Goodlad and Anderson, in which its authors argue, on the basis of the available evidence, that failure does little, if any, good. In fact, poor achievers do better work if promoted than if retained and made to do the same work over again!

Goodlad and Anderson go on to argue that what is needed is a break in the age-grade lock step. Much as the old one-room schoolhouse was able to let students move as individuals through a graded sequence of readers, so could a modern school, if flexibly organized, allow groups of children to move at their own pace. Those who were more able not only might move faster through many subject areas, but might explore them in greater depth along the way. The slow learners, rather than being failed, would merely take longer to master perhaps a rather narrower minimum program.¹⁷

Promotion through a graded sequence as we know it has been a problem to educators ever since schools drew all the children and in great numbers. History, while illuminating, does not seem to offer a guide to the future. What kinds of promotion policies are needed to meet the variety of young people in our schools? The current educational literature has some answers, and so have your teachers, all of whom have struggled with this problem.

¹⁵ Leonard P. Ayres, *Laggards in Our Schools* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1909), p. 3.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹⁷ John I. Goodlad and Robert H. Anderson, *The Nongraded Elementary School* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1959), pp. 32-39.

REPORTING PROGRESS

Not only must the child make progress through the grades; this progress must be reported in some fashion. While the graded text is in evidence in other countries, we note that there the system of periodic examinations is the established means of determining progress and reporting achievement. The student's work is marked by the teacher, errors are pointed out, and corrections are required. But the kind of reporting to parents with which we are familiar is not used abroad.

Where did the report card come from anyway? Few things take up more emo-

tional time on the part of the teacher than grading and reporting. And few things link the parent and the school more closely than the report given the parent on his child's progress. Just check the number of cartoons which focus on the report card, and you can see how strongly we feel about it.

It is probable that the early development of the American school system as one in which morals were to be taught, as well as some reading, writing, and figuring, accounts for the development of some method of grading and reporting progress. An early report card for one boy used in the Boston Public Latin School in 1829 included these items:

Rank, deduced from the aggregate of all his recitations	—
Recitations of the first or highest order	—
Recitations of the second order	—
Recitations of the third order	—
Recitations of the fourth order	—
Bad recitations	—
English composition (highest mark)	—
Declamation (highest mark)	—
Reading English (highest mark)	—
Rank, as regards conduct alone	—
Number of marks for misdemeanours	—
Greatest number of misdemeanours against any boy in the division	—
Least against any boy	—
Number of times tardy	—
Number of times absent	—

Remarks:

N.B. Parents are informed that their sons have a short lesson prescribed for each evening, intended to occupy them from an hour to an hour and a half—and they are earnestly requested to see that it is learned reasonably and *at once*. They are also informed that the School Committee allows *no excuse for tardiness* to be received and none for *absence except sickness*. Any suggestions, respecting the character or treatment of their sons will be gratefully received from parents, who will please to give early notice of having received this MONTHLY REPORT to,

F. P. Leverett¹⁸

¹⁸ Stuart G. Noble, *A History of American Education* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1954), p. 154.

The students whose reports were given on such a form were evidently ranked on their performance against each other. There was also a place for a mark, as in composition, but there is no indication of how such marks were awarded.

The system in most common use by the early 1900's was that of giving percentage marks on student achievement. Reporting procedures varied as widely as did all other school practices. The scientific movement finally caught up with marking systems as it had with other aspects of the school program. Studies of teachers' marks during the 1915-1919 period not only showed that these marks were very unreliable but showed that the bases for marking varied so from teacher to teacher that the achievement of the child was very hard to assess. One teacher might mark heavily on neatness, another might be influenced by straight margins, a third by the quality of the product, a fourth by knowing how hard the student had worked, and so on. Similarly, the ability of the teacher to detect such fine differences as those between grades of 85 and 86 percent was severely challenged. Percentage grading gave way first in the elementary schools, and was replaced by letters indicating degrees of excellence or achievement: the familiar A, B, C, D, and F. This system gradually infiltrated the secondary school, where it is now the most typical form of reporting, although some schools still retain a percentage system. The elementary schools have moved another step, however, and in many instances have dropped the A-F designations. Instead, one may find a three-letter system: S = Satisfactory, I = Improving, and U = Unsatisfactory, or some variations. In

some schools even this kind of marking has been superseded by a letter home to the parent, in which the teacher summarizes the child's progress for the given marking period. Many elementary schools also have parent conferences at stated periods when teacher and parent can talk about the child's progress.

With the advent of today's objective tests of achievement, grades and marks are again being subjected to a new scrutiny. To what extent, we can now ask, should grades reflect ability to achieve, or only the achievement itself? What about attitude? Should a grade also reflect a student's behavior? Deportment has always been an important factor in the life of both teacher and student, but should behavior enter into a student's grade, and if so, how? When can deportment be equated with citizenship, if ever? These kinds of questions may be still unanswered when you enter teaching.

SUMMARY

The patterns of organizing children and schools for education have been changing ever since we first had schools. This history of change is a story of trial and error, guesswork, expediency, and tradition. Few changes were ever made as a result of scientific study and conclusion. Even today, nostalgia and tradition are potent forces in conditioning educational thinking.

Many of the aspects of the school structure which we take for granted are the solutions of educators of earlier generations who struggled to find answers to such problems as masses of children, differences in ability and talent, organizing

the school day for different courses and course sequences, advancement up the educational ladder, and reporting student progress. Although these solutions were useful for their times, we must contin-

ually look anew at the system as it works today and ask ourselves over and over again: "Is there a better way of organizing learning for children and youth?"

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Determining the Purposes and Content of Education

Is education the product of a particular social order, or is the social order a consequence of the kind of education that we have? This is a fine debatable issue which has challenged thinkers and writers for a long time. When the history of civilizations is examined it is clear that whatever education was available was that which the society itself could accept with comfort. When, however, the dynamics of the educational process moved beyond social acceptance, then the educational forces were resisted. In the case of Socrates, for instance, his death was the result of teaching which appeared to threaten the *status quo*. In our own country the appearance of oaths of loyalty for teachers as a particular group indicates concern on the part of some that the teacher may deviate from the established con-

cepts of American values as interpreted by a segment of our society.

Thus society supports and develops education which seems on the surface to be that which is most consistent with the dominant values. One must remember that the dominant values are those expressed and held by the group which also holds most of the reins of power. For many centuries, therefore, education in the civilized world was restricted to the elite, the leisured, and the priestly class. Not only did these groups have the time for whatever education was provided; they were those who, having somewhat more knowledge than their fellows about the world around them, could thus effectively retain their positions of control.

To let the masses of the people benefit from education is obviously to weaken the monopoly position of the elite. Education is a more dangerous weapon than any yet devised by man, a fact well known long before our present lethal weapons of destruction were invented. Let man have knowledge, and he can solve many problems, including how to untie the bonds of his own slavery. Also, it should be added, he can create other problems that he has yet to solve.

The story of American education, as we have seen, had obvious roots in certain social conditions. If the English settlers in New England had not been a dissident middle- and lower-class Protestant sect, it is highly possible that the whole pattern of schooling would have been different. One need only compare the kinds of schools and the attitudes of educators in the early New England colonies with their counterparts in the early Southern colonies to see how large a part social origins play in determining educational programs. At the same time this very social impetus which led to an emphasis not only on literacy but on universal education contributed in no small

part to the stability of a democratic form of government and a society technologically literate and curious. Thus education is both cause and effect.

The purposes of education have obviously changed with changing social conditions. The education that served the colonists could not serve an industrial society. Dramatic changes have occurred in the content of education. As we have seen, early education was designed to provide a minimum literacy and religious instruction. Education, too, was needed to take care of the demands for skilled workmen, primarily through apprenticeships with additional schooling.

Beyond such bare beginnings the Latin grammar schools and the later academies, as we have seen, provided a "gentleman's" education. This consisted of arithmetic, Greek and Latin, and rhetoric. The utility of anything taught was strictly accidental at first. But those going to the Latin grammar schools and thence to college were not the idle sons of the idle rich; there were very few of these in the New England colonies, or, for that matter, anywhere else in the New World at that time. Thus education soon developed increasingly practical goals.

The rise of the academies and after them that of the comprehensive high schools have already been described. At each succeeding stage in its development public education expanded to serve the needs of a society growing more rather than less different and needing more and more diverse talents and skills.

LEADERS AND EDUCATIONAL STATESMEN

The interest of the early colonists in education has been commented upon.

Franklin's proposals for the education of youth, written in 1749, illustrate the importance that he, like many others of his time, attached to education and also show his interest in "useful" education. Franklin wanted students to be able to read and write well and to have a good grounding in arithmetic. He regarded the study of history as very helpful inasmuch as many moral and political lessons could be learned from it. To Franklin the acquisition of knowledge should be an enjoyable experience.

It was not until Jefferson, however, that we have a clear statement as to the basic relationship between democratic survival and public enlightenment. He considered the control of education at the local level to be an important training ground in political understanding for the common man as well as a way of combating any possible tyranny from a central government. It is in his writings, too, that we find an insistence on a single system of schools for rich and poor alike, which would thus prevent the development of separate social classes. He felt, however, that even if education were to be provided for the talented poor, actually the laboring classes as a whole needed little more than an elementary education; higher education should be reserved for those of distinctive talent.

Jefferson's noble plans for universal public education were not realized, although he was able to found the University of Virginia, an accomplishment of which he was most proud. At the same time others interested in education sought to establish a national system of education in opposition to Jefferson's intense faith in localism.

Washington was particularly concerned about the problem of sectionalism, and proposed a national university where

young people from all parts of the nation could meet and study together "and by degrees discover that there was not that cause for those jealousies and prejudices which one part of the Union had inveighed against another part. . . ."¹

Education is not mentioned anywhere in the Constitution, a fact which has flared up recently with great heat because of the Supreme Court rulings on school desegregation. Critics of these decisions claim that education, since it was not mentioned in the Constitution, is thus one of those areas reserved exclusively to the states, and thus federal pronouncements are an invasion of states' rights.

The origins of the American educational system stem more from the thinking and ideals of outstanding laymen than from the thinking and activities of educators. As the number of teachers grew and the educational task became more complex, there appeared a new kind of person—the professional educator. From the ranks of these early career teachers emerged individuals whom we may rightly call educational statesmen. We cannot name all of them in this brief introduction to American education, but it is important to become familiar with the thinking and influence of a few of these educational giants.

Of the great names which belong in any discussion of American education one that is pre-eminent is that of Horace Mann. This intense humanitarian career began with an interest in prison reform, an area that greatly needed work, but Mann very soon found that reforms were even more urgently needed in the public elementary schools. The condition of

education in Massachusetts in 1837 was deplorable:

The state had shifted responsibility for the upkeep and supervision of schools to the towns; the districts had shifted it to individuals. In 1826 barely a third of the children of suitable age had opportunity to attend, for some portion of the year. Moreover, the schools were incredibly deficient. Instructors were often unable to do simple sums in multiplication and division, and in 1837 some three hundred teachers were driven out of their schools by unruly and riotous pupils over whom, in spite of the prevalent use of the whip, they were unable to keep any semblance of order. Yet Massachusetts led in educational matters—probably in no state were conditions better.²

As you can see, times have improved! The genius of Horace Mann lay not only in his zeal for a truly enlightening education for all children but in his ability to communicate his message to others. He organized teachers' institutes, wrote, lectured, and traveled. He founded an educational journal, the first of its kind, to win adherents to the support of adequate education for all children. The purposes which education should serve were enunciated continually and passionately by Horace Mann; and they have influenced the course of American educational development ever since. Mann was, of course, also a creature of his society and the practical idealism he preached found a response in the American temper.

The impact of the conditions Mann encountered, plus his own study abroad and observations at home, led him to affirm the following basic beliefs about education:

First, Mann felt that "the true business of the schoolroom connects itself, and be-

¹ *The Writings of George Washington* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1940), p. 199.

² Merle Curti, *The Social Ideas of American Educators* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935), p. 107.

comes identical, with the great interests of society."

Second, the school had a basic responsibility for teaching health, hygiene, and related facts so that future generations would be "loftier in stature, firmer in structure, fairer in form, and better able to perform the duties and bear the burdens of life. . . ."

Third, universal education would be the means of reducing if not eliminating poverty. Mann firmly believed that

. . . nothing but universal education can counterwork this tendency to the domination of capital and the servility of labor. If one class possesses all the wealth and the education, while the residue of society is ignorant and poor, it matters not by what name the relation between them may be called. . . . But, if education be equally diffused, it will draw property after it by the strongest attraction; for such a thing never did happen, and never can happen, as that an intelligent and practical body of men should be permanently poor. . . .

Education, then, beyond all other devices of human origin, is the great equalizer of the conditions of men. . . . The spread of education, by enlarging the cultivated class or caste, will open a wider area over which the social feelings will expand; and, if this education should be universal and complete, it would do more than all things else to obliterate factitious distinctions in society. . . .

Fourth, the survival of the republic depends upon the intelligence of the people who make up the citizenry. Said Mann:

That any one, who is to participate in the government of a country when he becomes a man, should receive no instruction respecting the nature and functions of the government he is afterwards to administer, is a political solecism.

But the schools were not to indoctrinate any child with any partisan point of view. Mann carefully emphasized that children

should be led to understand the "essentials of political life," but that controversial issues be only identified and not discussed.

Fifth, Mann made a distinction between moral education and religious education. He firmly believed that the schools should be religious without being sectarian. He also believed in the tremendous force of education in the molding of values. One of his phrases, written in 1848, is as true today probably as it was when first penned: "Education has never been brought to bear with one one-hundredth part of its potential force upon the natures of children, and, through them, upon the character of men and the race." This faith in the power of education to change children and, therefore, the adults these children become persists today, yet we realize how little we know about the forces that influence the growing child.³

Others who followed in Mann's footsteps, including Henry Barnard, the first U.S. Commissioner of Education, found inspiration in Mann's view of education. The faith that he expressed and that others have echoed—that education *could* change society—has been a major significant theme in all aspects of American education. Indeed, it is our own realization that education cannot do all that Mann felt it could that colors our present-day criticisms. Perhaps the promise that education was the dominant force in social progress was asking too much of any single institution, particularly one whose dynamics we still do not comprehend.

Max Lerner points out that in any civili-

³ Horace Mann, "The Business of the School-room Is the Interest of Society," in Marjorie B. Smiley and John S. Diekhoff, *Prologue to Teaching* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 284-294.

zation education must not only pass on and conserve the culture and values of the society, but it must also ensure that some evaluation and change take place. As change occurs at an increasingly rapid rate, the mission of education becomes more complex and the task of the teacher more difficult. Lerner also takes note of the many other educative influences besides the school, but emphasizes that education remains the most significant. When what Lerner calls Americans' "extravagant reliance on education" is not completely justified by results, the public gets restive. If the schools are not doing what they ought to be doing, perhaps the significant thing to ask is, should they be expected to do all that Americans hope and dream?⁴

Supporting the American hope in education was another leader whose vision and words have had as great an impact on twentieth-century education in America as did Horace Mann's the previous century. This man was John Dewey. There is probably no one else whose influence on education has been so significant and yet so overestimated. In recent decades it has been fashionable for critics to point out that most of the things wrong with the schools can be blamed on John Dewey's philosophy. Others, however, point out that the schools never have been modeled after Dewey's thinking! In a sense both kinds of critics are right. Although Dewey challenged the schools in a forthright and fundamental fashion and although what he said was consistent with the developing American character, it is also true that the schools have not been

able really to put into practice what Dewey preached.

What was Dewey's main contribution? Like Mann and Jefferson before him, he believed deeply in the power of the educated mind to control social events. But he also believed that the process whereby the mind becomes educated is an active one: that education is the product of experience reflected upon. He also reiterated the point that education must be consistent with what we know about child growth and development and that we therefore need to study children a good deal more in order to relate educational experiences to them adequately. From these concepts came such phrases as "the experience curriculum" and "the child-centered school"—ideas with which Dewey would certainly have been in sympathy. But he would have wanted experience to be the beginning of learning leading to knowledge; experience for its own sake would not lead to knowledge any more than rote memory for its own sake would lead to knowledge. Nor would centering the curriculum in the child make sense unless one were fully aware of the child as a product of and an active participant in the culture.

Dewey's experimental school at the University of Chicago opened in 1896. He published some of his most influential writings on education in the decade before World War I. Just as Horace Mann had done before him, Dewey rebelled against the sterile educational conditions he found in the elementary schools of the 1890's:

The realm of the classroom in the 1890's was totally set off from the experience of the child who inhabited it. The teachers' lessons encrusted by habit, the seats arranged in formal rows, and the rigid etiquette of

⁴Max Lerner, *America as a Civilization* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957), pp. 733-738, 749.

behavior all emphasized the difference between school and life. Hence learning consisted of the tedious memorization of data without a meaning immediately clear to the pupil.

Dewey, whose own education as a boy was free of all such rigidity, objected strenuously that these conditions stifled the learning process, for they prevented the student from relating his formal studies to his own development as a whole person.⁵

Education, Dewey felt, had to be closely related to the world in which people actually lived. When this occurred, the child would be so interested in his learning that formal discipline would be unnecessary; instead, learning itself would produce genuine self-discipline. The purposes of education which Dewey felt to be so significant are not, in essence, very different from those desired by Franklin, Jefferson, or Mann. The means whereby these ends were to be achieved were different: Dewey lived in an age when the scientific method could begin to be applied to human affairs. Dewey, in his philosophy of education, restated in modern terms the belief that education, if properly pursued, could turn out citizens able to live and work in a rational social system.

"Progressive education" is almost a nasty phrase in educational circles today, but during the twenties and thirties some of the leadership of American education formed the Progressive Education Association, which was strongly influential in developing the practical implications of John Dewey's ideas. Although today the organization itself no longer exists, many school practices which we take for granted were the outgrowth of school

experimentation started by Dewey and his fellow progressives.

Why is there so much rancor about the place of John Dewey and his theories in American education? We can understand part of the reason for it by remembering that Americans put almost too much reliance on education. When the society appears to fall short of what is desired, when children are disobedient, when secretaries cannot spell, when rascals are voted into office, when quacks command high fees, and when quiz shows are rigged, something or someone has to be blamed. If the shortcomings of society can be related to the schools, then whoever can be assigned responsibility for the modern school is the scapegoat. And this role has currently been assigned to John Dewey. One careful student of American educational history suggests that, however annoying the charge may be, a line can be drawn between the "organization man" of today, educated to "get along," and the emphasis Dewey made upon understanding the social world in which we live.⁶

It is clear that no one person could be so influential, particularly in a society where education is such a local matter. It must also be clear, however, that while many individuals have criticized education, the criticisms that remain and become influential are those which bring to a focus the current temper of the people. This is what Dewey was able to do. He spoke at the right time, identifying those elements in the education of his time which were inadequate and proposing in their place a pragmatic American substitute.

⁵ Oscar Handlin, *John Dewey's Challenge to Education* (New York: Harper & Row, 1959), p. 42.

⁶ Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1961), p. 239.

One more problem is associated with Dewey's educational position: his ideas were radical, and as such they attracted persons impatient with the *status quo*. One of his more radical notions—though strongly reminiscent of Horace Mann—was that the student must study society, must understand the world around him. Thus controversial issues, according to Dewey, would be the essential content of education. Now there are many controversial issues in American life which, if critically studied, might result in upsetting the vested interest of others. And when a vested interest is threatened, what happens? What has happened in American life is that such threats can be nullified by calling the inquiring individuals "radicals," or—and this is even more effective—"Communists." The great rash of oaths for teachers grew out of the endemic fear on the part of society that the educator, under the impetus of truly effective education, might lay open the inconsistencies, the public sores, the basic power struggles of our society as part of the curriculum of the young citizen. *

Crenin, cited above, states in summary: "Dewey . . . remains . . . little more than a symbol of the educational hopes and despairs of the American people at any given moment in their history." One might quibble with the use of the word "little" here, but in any event, John Dewey's educational influence persists to this day.

Thus the purposes of American education have been influenced by the leadership, the writing, and the ideas of some great men. We do not have room here to mention other leaders in American education. What is significant is that we have produced a unique kind of schooling, native to the American soil, which,

as America changes and as the world changes, is also bound to change.

THE SCHOOL AND THE MAKING OF AMERICANS

One of the great tasks of the American schools was to produce Americans. Following the Revolutionary War and up to the first quarter of the twentieth century America was host to many millions of foreign-born seeking a new life in this new country.

The Americanization of so many non-English speaking persons in every part of the country but the Deep South necessitated drastic action. In some states, for instance, there were strict prohibitions against teaching or instruction in any language except English. Of particular interest is a Supreme Court decision (*Meyer vs. Nebraska*, 262, U.S. 390 [1923]), which reversed a strongly worded law forbidding the teaching of any language other than English, except the dead languages—Latin and ancient Greek. For many years the public schools provided only minimal foreign language instruction. It is not that educators were reluctant to have language instruction in the schools: the public for many generations was loath to support such "foreign" influences. If children learned a foreign language, might they not develop a foreign loyalty? And since so many children were born of parents only recently arrived from a foreign land, perhaps their loyalty was not wholly assured.

When a new nation had to be formed out of the diverse elements found in colonial America, it is no wonder that an enduring suspicion of "foreignness" should

emerge. Actually the revolution itself was almost an accident: few wanted to sever all ties with England. Most of the revolutionaries merely wanted better treatment and a chance to decide local questions locally. Nationhood came somewhat unexpectedly and many were not ready for it. The new nation was quickly forced into difficult relations with the rest of the world. The War of 1812, Jefferson's Embargo, the Monroe Doctrine, the war with the Barbary pirates—all these events tell us of the nervousness of America in relation to the rest of the world, a nervousness due in part to uncertainty as to whether the new nation could really survive as a nation.

The process of Americanization as the task of the schools reinforced an earlier pattern. The family, which was originally the source of custom regarding what was the right and proper thing to do, could no longer serve such a function for the foreign-born, non-English-speaking newcomer. Only in the school could the younger generation learn such things. The authority of the foreign-born parent was undermined when his child could come home and say, "But we don't do things this way in America. It might be all right in the Old Country, but not here." And the parent sadly knew this to be true.

When today we view with some alarm the fact that the schools seem to be doing things originally thought to be the responsibility of the family, such as sex education and driver education, we perhaps are but seeing a continuation of a process. The functions the family can perform adequately in one area may not be feasible in the next.

English instruction became one of the central tasks of the school. One not only

must learn to read and write English but to speak it properly. Today's concern over proper enunciation and pronunciation undoubtedly has its roots in earlier decades when in some circles it was disloyal—perhaps even immoral—to speak English improperly or with an accent.

Because the schools were charged with the task of turning all foreigners into Americans, it was necessary to make all things in the past—a non-American past, that is—seem alien and different and therefore not as good as the present. After all, to develop loyalty to the here and now, there must be something questionable about the past. Such a viewpoint fitted into the hopes of immigrants who had themselves, by the act of leaving their homeland, accomplished a dramatic act of dissaffiliation. That this was true was noted as early as 1782:

What attachment can a poor European emigrant have for a country where he had nothing? The knowledge of the language, the love of a few kindred as poor as himself, were the only cords that tied him. His country is now that which gives him land, bread, protection, and consequence. . . . He is either a European, or the descendant of a European; hence, that strange mixture of blood, which you will find in no other country. . . . He is an American, who, leaving behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners, receives new ones from the new mode of life he has embraced, the new government he obeys, and the new rank he holds. . . . Here individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men, whose labors and posterity will one day cause great changes in the world. Americans are the western pilgrims who are carrying along with them that great mass of arts, sciences, vigor, and industry, which began long since in the east. They will finish the great circle. The Americans were once scattered all over Europe. Here they are incorporated into one of the finest systems of population which has ever appeared, and which will

hereafter become distinct by the power of the different climates they inhabit. The American is a new man, who acts upon new principles; he must therefore entertain new ideas and form new opinions. From involuntary idleness, servile dependence, penury, and useless labor, he has passed to toils of a very different nature rewarded by ample subsistence—This is an American.⁷

America *was* the future. Each newcomer felt that here perhaps he could indeed have a chance, a new chance. Immigrants were, as often as not, the poor and disinherited, the disgruntled, or the outcast. These people did indeed *need* a future!

Not only did such individuals come hoping for a future for themselves; they hoped that their children could have a chance not possible in the homeland. Thus there was a particular investment in the education of the young. The school, then, was also oriented toward the future. Children were told that in the school they would learn all that they needed in order to become American:

All my early life lies open to my eye within five city blocks. When I passed the school, I went sick with all my old fear of it. . . .

It was never learning I associated with that school: only the necessity to succeed, to get ahead of the others in the daily struggle to "make a good impression" on our teachers, who grimly, wearily, and often with ill-concealed distaste watched against our relapsing into the natural savagery they expected of Brownsville boys. . . .

All teachers were to be respected like gods, and God himself was the greatest of all school superintendents. . . . My belief in

teachers' unlimited wisdom and power rested not so much on what I saw in them—how impatient most of them looked, how wary—but on our abysmal humility. . . . Our road to a professional future would be shown us only as we pleased *them*. *Make a good impression the first day of the term, and they help you out. Make a bad impression, and you might as well cut your throat.* This was the first article of school folklore.⁸

Thus wrote the child of immigrants in the early twentieth century, learning how it was to become an American in the tenement section of New York City.

The Americanization of the new migrant and his children and the future orientation of the school have made an indelible impression upon the American character. As Margaret Mead has observed, whether we are now fourth- or fifth- or eighth-generation Americans, we still have the future orientation of the offspring of immigrants:

By and large, the American father has an attitude towards his children which may be loosely classified as autumnal. They are his for a brief and passing season, and in a very short while they will be operating gadgets which he does not understand and cockily talking a language to which he has no clue. . . . If the boy goes into his father's profession, of course, it will take him a time to catch up. He finds out that the old man knows a trick or two. . . . But the American boy solves that one very neatly: he typically does not go into his father's profession, nor take up land next to his father where his father can come over and criticize his plowing. He goes somewhere else, either in space or in occupation. And his father, who did the same thing and expects that his son will, is at heart terrifically disappointed if the son accedes to his ritual request that he docilely follow in his father's

⁷ Michel Guillaume St. Jean de Crèvecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer* (London: 1782). Quoted in Oscar Handlin, *Immigration as a Factor in American History*. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1959), p. 148-149.

⁸ Alfred Kazin, *A Walker in the City* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1951), pp. 17-20, 28-30.

footsteps and secretly suspects the imitative son of being a milksop.⁹

In America the wish, the hope, and often the reality is that with ambition and perseverance every child can go further than his parents did. After all, look back only a generation or so when Grandfather couldn't even speak decent English, if any, and followed Old World ways in food and home habits. Now his grandson can be a doctor and live in an anonymous suburb, and if he really wants to dissolve his entity completely into an American version, change his name into a bland Anglo-Saxon one: Greenberg becomes Green, Martinelli becomes Martin.

The American schools not only had great purposes; they had tremendous tasks. Whatever Franklin, Jefferson, Mann, or Dewey might have said about the schools, the actual job of Americanization, of transmitting the culture, and of educating the millions took place when teacher instructed student. What should the teacher teach? How should this be taught? We have noted the pronouncements of some of the most significant molders of the American schools, but there were other influences that in the long run actually determined what would be taught.

In this brief overview we can identify three other major sources of influence on educational content and practice. All these are reflections of the culture of the day. Legislation was one major method whereby school policy was formulated. Another has been the actions of the organized profession. And the tools of the trade—the schoolbooks and

their authors—have been potent sources of educational influence. Let us place each factor in historical perspective.

LEGISLATION AND THE SCHOOLS

Americans have always been prone to pass a law if they couldn't figure out any better way to decide an issue. Unlike a folk society, where most ways of doing things are regulated by ancient tradition, America had few common traditions to fall back on when it came to establishing social custom. From the time of the earliest settlements colonists took matters into their own hands, issued regulations, voted on matters of public policy, and created the tradition of rule by law—innumerable laws and many overlapping governing bodies.

Schools and education as the concerns of the public and its lawmakers came in for their share of attention very early. We have noted already how the founding fathers expressed concern lest indigent parents fail to provide at least a basic education for their children. Early state constitutions included provisions for education. "By the time that Ohio was admitted to the Union in 1803 the principle of state responsibility for education was thereafter firmly incorporated in the constitutions of the new states."¹⁰

Since that time state legislators have been busy enacting laws concerned with almost every aspect of education. By contrast with European practice, policy for the schools in many respects has

⁹ Margaret Mead, *And Keep Your Powder Dry* (New York: William Morrow & Company, Inc., 1942), p. 45.

¹⁰ R. Freeman Butts and Lawrence A. Cremin, *A History of Education in American Culture* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1953), p. 108.

come from the lay public and state legislators rather than from the profession. The ideas of the professional educator, as enunciated by Horace Mann, for instance, sometimes made their way into state laws. But legislation largely determines what the teacher can or cannot do, regardless of whether the educational practices involved are sound.

Early legislation identified the responsibility for providing for local schools. Shortly thereafter there were laws which established the taxing power of the local school unit and legalized the role of the state in supporting local schools. One of the famous decisions involving education, the Kalamazoo Case, rendered by the Michigan Supreme Court in 1874, established the legality of state and local support for public secondary schools. We have already referred to legislation which set up compulsory school attendance. The length of the school day and the school year was set by law. Legislators, in school matters as in many others, are subjected to many kinds of public pressures. Reading through a school code is an interesting exercise in detecting those areas in which, over the years, a given group of legislators has been induced to establish school policy.

Thus we find requirements that teachers instruct youth in the evils of the use of alcohol and tobacco. The famous Scopes trial in Tennessee highlighted the dilemma of a teacher who attempted to teach what could be accepted as fact but which went contrary to a society's traditions that had been written into law. In this instance, a science teacher set out to test a state law which said that the principles of evolution could not be taught in the public schools. Two famous lawyers matched wits in the ensuing "monkey trial," as it has come to be

known—William Jennings Bryan and Clarence Darrow. Despite the fact that this trial took place in 1925, the law still remains on the books of Tennessee.

There is one area in which school content has been a particular object of legislation, the teaching of patriotism, democracy, understanding the Constitution, and related subjects. Legislatures have been very specific as to the time and emphasis to be given to instruction on the Constitution. We find, for instance, that Arizona has this requirement:

U.S. Constitution. All public schools shall give instruction in the essentials, sources and history of the Constitution of the United States, and of the state of Arizona, and in American institutions and ideals. No student shall receive a certificate of graduation without passing a satisfactory examination upon such subjects. The instruction shall be given for at least one year of the grammar and high school grades respectively. (Sec. 54-803, School Code of Ariz., 1941.)¹¹

Most states prescribe such instruction for both public and private schools and colleges and universities. Perhaps the most elaborate spelling out of what the schools should do is to be found in the laws of Oklahoma:

U.S. Constitution. In all public, parochial, and private schools, colleges, and universities . . . there shall be taught by reading and discussing regular courses, lectures, and instruction in the Constitution of the United States; and it shall be the duty of the State Board of Education to provide rules and regulations for the carrying out of the provisions of this Act, provided, that the conditions of this bill shall not be construed to necessitate the adoption of additional textbook or books. (School Laws of Okla., 1943, sec. 14.)

No pupil or student shall receive a cer-

¹¹ Federal Security Agency, *Education for Freedom* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1948), p. 20.

tificate of graduation from any such school referred to in Section 14 unless he or she has satisfactorily passed an examination on the provisions and principles of the United States Constitution to an extent to be determined by the State Board of Education. (Sec. 15, *ibid.*)

U.S. History. Instruction in "American History" is required in all public and private elementary schools. Such teaching shall commence in the lowest primary grade of each said school and shall be continued through all the primary grades, provided that the teaching of Oklahoma History, as now provided by law, may be substituted for American History in one of the said grades. At least one hour in every week . . . shall be devoted to such instruction. The instilling into the hearts of the various pupils of an understanding of the United States and of a love of country and devotion to the principles of American Government shall be the primary object of such instruction, which shall avoid, as far as possible, being a mere recital of dates and events. (Sec. 18, *ibid.*)

No college or university shall grant any student any degree unless he has passed a course in "American History and Civil Government." (Sec. 13, *ibid.*)

No person shall be graduated from any high school, public or private . . . until he or she shall have satisfactorily completed at least one full year's work in American History and Civics. (Sec. 19, *ibid.*)

. . . the books selected and adopted (by the Textbook Commission) shall include all of those subjects taught in the common or public schools of this State, up to and including the twelfth grade; and the History of Oklahoma, so adopted, shall contain, as an appendix, a copy of the Constitution of Oklahoma, and the History of the United States, so adopted, shall contain as an appendix, a copy of the Constitution of the United States, and any book of Civics or relating Civil Government, so adopted, if any, shall contain as an appendix, a copy of the Constitution of Oklahoma and the Constitution of the United States. . . . (1945, Laws of Oklahoma, Senate Bill No. 40.)

Patriotism. Statehood Day (November 16) is set apart as a day to be observed for

the purpose of teaching and inspiring loyalty and patriotism to the State and Union. (School Laws of Okla., 1943, sec. 656.)¹²

The rights as well as the duties of teachers are spelled out not only by law but through legal interpretations of cases as they arise. When individuals voice criticisms of some school practices it is useful to know the sources of these practices. In many instances the schools are bound by legislation which may express popular views of what ought to be done, but which may be inconsistent with what we regard as best educational practice. As the general level of education rises and as the teaching profession grows in strength it is probable that legislation will be guided by professional advice more than it has in the past and that such legislation will spell out broad policies, leaving implementation up to the profession itself.

One significant and continuing area of legislative concern has been the relationship between church and state. The efforts of Horace Mann, for instance, were vigorously attacked by many because he stressed the nonsectarian nature of the public school and insisted that no specific dogma be included in instruction. The early schools had been founded on the premise that their primary function was sectarian and religious; hence it is easy to see how Mann's views, although they prevailed in the end, did not stop the controversy. The factors of cultural and religious pluralism already mentioned served to reinforce Mann's position, however, to the point where religious instruction of any kind was considered not appropriate for the public schools. The position that the public had a vital stake

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

in education to the point where any kind of private schooling was considered a possible weakening of the social fiber found ultimate expression in an Oregon statute of 1922 that required all children between eight and sixteen to attend a public school; attendance at any other kind of school was allowed only by permission of the local school superintendent, who was also to examine each such student. This statute was held unconstitutional, however, by a Supreme Court decision of 1925 pointing out that parents, too, had the right to direct and decide what kind of education they desired for their children. Although this appeared to be a clear support of private and parochial education, the legal problems involved are still unresolved.

Can a local school district or state, for instance, legally pay tuition grants to students attending a parochial school even when there is no public school available to them? What prayers can or cannot be said in public schools, or are any prayers at all permissible? Are religious services, such as often occur in connection with graduation exercises, legal? Even when Supreme Court decisions answer a problem, often only part of the issue is settled. For example, the 1962 Supreme Court decision on the constitutionality of prayer recitations in public schools struck down a requirement of the New York Board of Regents which had set up a "nondenominational" prayer to be recited each day in all schoolrooms. This decision was at first viewed as historic, but not long afterward several school systems announced continuance of their policies on school prayers since these were not the same as the regents' prayer. This in spite of the fact that the Supreme Court decision ruled out required prayers of any kind as religious rituals and ob-

servances, and not just the particular prayer used in New York.

CHANGE BY COMMITTEE

In the preceding section we have indicated briefly the role of legislation in determining what is taught and sometimes even how. It was pointed out that educators, although of some influence in many areas of legislation, have not always been able to secure changes they desired, nor have they always been able to block changes they disapproved. Outside the particular area of legislation, however, educators have been able to define educational needs and to develop basic policy statements which have had considerable impact on the course of educational matters. These statements have grown out of the deliberations of high-level committees of educators and have been expressed as major policy statements.

The first significant committee, known as the Committee of Ten, was appointed by the National Education Association in 1891. The committee was charged with examining the problem of what should be taught in the secondary schools, and was to make recommendations or proposals. The committee, significantly enough, was made up of representatives of the colleges and universities. By implication, therefore, the committee accepted without question the premise that secondary schools were first of all college preparatory institutions. Although it recognized that the secondary school was to prepare "for the duties of life" those youth who attended, the committee saw this education as intellectual in nature. One major contribution of the report of the Committee of Ten was to establish the social and natural sciences as subjects

of equal merit with the classics and languages. Thus the committee recommended that all these major subjects be studied diligently, thoroughly, and consecutively, since they could all contribute to training the reasoning powers and developing the kind of clarity of thought and expression needed for college. The committee's report dominated the thinking of secondary educators for decades, even though the school in actual practice became an institution increasingly geared to the requirements of mass education.

As the enrollments in secondary schools skyrocketed in the years between 1893 and 1910, it was clear that the pronouncement of the Committee of Ten, although consistent with the school problem of the 1890's, did not fit the changing times. Again a committee was appointed; this one, called the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, started its work in 1913. The Committee of Ten had been primarily college- and university-dominated, but the membership of this new commission was much more representative of the public schools and their interests as well as of those engaged in teacher education at the college level. From this commission emerged the famous Seven Cardinal Principles, a statement of educational objectives which, together with the pedagogical ideas of John Dewey, has been most instrumental in shaping modern American public school education. Hence these principles deserve more than passing mention.

Before considering the principles as expressed by the commission, it might be worthwhile for you to ask yourself what you now consider to be the goals of American education. Toward what end or ends should the schools teach? Is citizenship a primary concern? Technological competence? Good social ad-

justment? How about skill in reading, writing, and computing? If you were to leave something out of the educational program as you know it today, what would it be? What would you want to see added?

Here is part of the statement of the goals of education from the final report in 1918:

Secondary education should be determined by the needs of the society to be served, the character of the individuals to be educated, and the knowledge of educational theory and practice available. These factors are by no means static. Society is always in the process of development; the character of the secondary school population undergoes modification; and the sciences on which educational theory and practice depend constantly furnish new information. . . .

Education in the United States should be guided by a clear conception of the meaning of democracy. It is the ideal of democracy that the individual and society may find fulfillment each in the other. Democracy sanctions neither the exploitation of the individual by society nor the disregard of the interest of society by the individual. . . .

Consequently, education in a democracy, both within and without the school, should develop in each individual the knowledge, interests, ideals, habits, and powers whereby he will find his place and use that place to shape both himself and society towards ever nobler ends.¹³

This is a precise, carefully developed statement. To appreciate it more, students may wish to take it sentence by sentence and reflect upon the meaning and implications each contains. Such major policy statements are hammered

¹³ Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, National Education Association, *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, Bulletin No. 35, 1918), pp. 7 ff.

out, word by word, revision after revision, over a period of months or years. Between each revision they are sent as drafts to hundreds of individuals for their reactions. In the end the published statement represents the cumulative voice of education.

Is there something in the excerpt above with which you might disagree? That is no longer appropriate? How would you change the meaning?

The commission, after stating these general conditions for educational reorganization, identified those areas in which the schools had major responsibility; these became known as the Seven Cardinal Principles of Education. In brief form they simply say that the secondary school should provide instruction in the following areas:

1. Health
2. Command of fundamental processes
3. Worthy home membership
4. Vocation
5. Citizenship
6. Worthy use of leisure
7. Ethical character

How does this list sound to you? Which of the above do you feel is not a responsibility of the schools? Why? Is there anything you would want to add?

The effect of the commission report has been summarized by Cremin:

The effects of the *Cardinal Principles* have been legion. Indeed, it does not seem amiss to argue that most of the important and influential movements in the field since 1918 have simply been footnotes to the classic itself. While cogent criticisms over the years have called for refinements, further denotations, and extensions of the *Cardinal Principles*, the statement has for close to four decades provided the orientation

and terminology for the development of secondary education.¹⁴

Since the *Seven Cardinal Principles of Education* was published several other important statements of educational objectives have been made by the profession. The Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association identified what it considered the major purposes of education in 1938 and analyzed them under four major themes:¹⁵

1. The objectives of self-realization
2. The objectives of human relationship
3. The objectives of economic efficiency
4. The objectives of civic responsibility

What criticisms do you think might be leveled at these objectives? Are they too inclusive or not inclusive enough? What could conceivably be left out? Perhaps you may be interested in reading the extended treatment given in the source document. In essence, however, the EPC statement was a reorganization of the *Cardinal Principles* and did not depart from that statement in basic philosophy.

The committee and the commission reports described here have been an influential source of leadership for change in American education. In almost every subject field the organized profession through the years has developed statements of position and points of view regarding content and method that have

¹⁴ Lawrence A. Cremin, "The Revolution in American Secondary Education," *Teachers College Record*, 56:295-308 (March 1955).

¹⁵ National Education Association, Educational Policies Commission, *The Purposes of Education in American Democracy* (Washington, D.C.: The Association, 1938).

also been influential. Today, committees of the Modern Language Association, the National Council for the Social Studies, groups of mathematicians and scientists, organizations in art, music, and physical education, to name a few, are working on statements regarding the modern content and approach to be taken in their respective fields. The task is enormous. As the decades pass, what we know increases geometrically. The problem of selecting what to teach and in what sequence becomes an ever more difficult one. What are the most important things to teach? How do we know when to teach what? These questions have to be answered by every teacher every day, yet the basis upon which answers are given is still tentative and still subject to continual revision. Chapter 10 described the curriculum of the school today—its content, the issues connected with it, and the kinds of procedures used to develop it. Here it is necessary only to trace the significant elements in the making of our modern system of education.

CURRICULUM IS MATERIALS

It has been said that no matter what is written in a course of study, the curriculum is what the teacher teaches after the door is closed. The teacher, in turn, depends to a great extent on the tools of the trade: books, pencils, test tubes, lathes, sewing machines. The first audio-visual device was the textbook.

It is certainly oversimplifying history to say that the American character was formed by the *New England Primer*, Noah Webster's speller and the McGuffey readers, but these three publications contributed a very formidable share. The

New England Primer dominated eighteenth-century education. "For a hundred years this book beyond any other was the school book of American dissenters. Its total sales are estimated to have been not less than three million copies."¹⁶ The *Primer* first appeared around 1686, and there is evidence that it was still in use until at least 1806. The arrangement of the *Primer* was similar to that of many in vogue then and later. Its purpose was essentially religious: to teach the child enough to read the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and the Ten Commandments. Lessons started with the alphabet and thence to two-letter syllables. There were then lists of words of one syllable, two syllables, and so forth. The words used were mainly of a moral or religious character, and later lessons included short moral stories. Simple woodcuts illustrated the stories. The horrors of sin and evil-doing were repeated with vivid directness. Many editions of the *Primer* appeared, later ones including rhymed moral lessons. In the dame schools, where the *Primer* was the sole text, students stayed until they had memorized the whole thing even though such a task could take the slower students many years. Writing instruction was accomplished with the aid of a hornbook—a piece of paper or parchment upon which were printed the alphabet, some elementary syllables, and usually a benediction and the Lord's Prayer. This material was attached to a board and was covered by a thin piece of transparent horn upon which the student could copy the written letters beneath.

¹⁶ Clifton Johnson, *Old-Time Schools and School-Books* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1917), p. 72.

Another revolution in education occurred when Noah Webster published his speller. Webster was a crusader for a uniform American language, which he saw as a great need in a country with such vast distances and comprised of so many regional variations in speech and spelling.

He set himself up as the authority on matters of spelling, his major aim being to simplify wherever possible. His blue-backed *The American Spelling Book*, published in 1783, had the format of a compact schoolbook and was similarly inexpensive. Here he pioneered in simplified spelling, dropping the final *k* of *music* and *public* and the extra *u* from *favor*. We can only regret that he did not change some of the other troublesome words in the English language which plague school children to this day and which seemingly await a modern-day Webster to break through the frustration of archaic spelling. By 1875, long after his death, more than seventy-five million copies of the book had been sold. "Often it was the only textbook in the hands of school children, the only schoolbook in the possession of the pioneers during their migration westward."¹⁷ The book was not a speller in the sense that we think of a speller today; rather, it was a series of graded exercises for oral reading which would instruct children in the correct pronunciation of words for accurate and easy reading. The device he used was to provide a guide for dividing words into syllables, lists which showed the different vowel sounds, and other phonetic devices for making it easier for students to learn to read. The fact that the selections children were to read often

made little sense was not a concern of instructors at that time. The student could at least sound as though he knew what he was reading! A moment's reflection on the influence of this approach to reading and spelling suggests one of the reasons why, deep in the American tradition, is the feeling that the phonetic teaching of reading is the best approach. Scientific study of the reading process supports the view that phonetic approaches are important, but we have also learned that reading is much more than just learning phonics; it is a most complicated and complex intellectual activity, involving all the senses of the learner. In any event, Noah Webster's influence was a wide and long-lasting one; even today we see one manifestation of it in the popularity of spelling bees in the classroom and even in regional and national competitions. Spelling bees, in the days of the greatest popularity of Webster's speller, had students spelling words whose meaning and usage they could not possibly fathom. Furthermore, this fact seemed to be of no great concern to anyone. Even today youngsters in spelling bees are asked to spell correctly esoteric words, as though this in some way was a sign of great intellectual competence.

A third major influence on teaching content which entered via the classroom, rather than through the pronouncements of legislators, educators, or committees, was the famous McGuffey readers. It has been estimated that following their publication in the 1830's these readers sold over a hundred million copies. What were they like? They reflected very well, in both story and essay, the prevailing political ideas of the times, particularly those enunciated by Daniel Webster. The readers, published first in Cincinnati in 1836, made ample use of quotations from the

¹⁷ Gertrude Hildreth, "Noah Webster: Crusader for American Literacy," *Elementary School Journal*, 59:375-379 (April 1959).

nation's founding fathers, particularly where they coincided with the opinions of the editor of the readers. These quotations were essentially conservative, Hamiltonian, and moral in tone. According to Cubberley, the readers, finally produced in a graded series of six books and continuously published over a sixty-year period,

were the most widely used reading books, outside of New England. Probably half of the school children of America during this period drew their inspiration and formulated their codes of morals and conduct from this remarkable series of Readers. That this graded series of Readers helped to establish the graded school, with its class organization, there can be little question.¹⁸

So favorable was the view of the public regarding the moral influence of these readers that in recent years a publisher has come out with a modern version of the McGuffey readers with the hope of capturing a similar mass audience!

There have been several analyses of the contents of textbooks, in large part because of the realization that much of what is in the curriculum is found in the textbook. A major study was undertaken to determine what texts said about the various peoples who came to America from divergent cultural groups. This study of social studies textbooks, completed in 1948, found, for instance, that early settlers in the West were called "pioneers" whereas later "immigrants" were often referred to as "swarms" and "teeming masses" who willingly worked at starvation wages and lived in wretched slums.¹⁹ A more recent study indicates

that although many textbook authors are making valiant efforts to report the facts of history more objectively, there is still a gap between what actually happened and what is reported in nationally used textbooks as fact.²⁰

The elementary school textbooks of today have also been the subject of devastating criticism, notably by John Hersey, who pointed out how very dull they are as they proceed in their task of teaching reading, and by Abraham Tannenbaum, who showed that textbook town was a very unusual place in which to live in terms of the probable living conditions of a very large number of elementary school children.²¹

Teachers, like others who are harried by lack of time and many pressures, do what comes most easily. The textbook is a ready-made course of study. Moreover, so habituated to textbooks have some members of the profession become that they tend to confuse good teaching with sticking to the text. Yet we can readily see that teaching which sticks to a poor text could hardly be good teaching. Many considerations other than good teaching often go into the production of the text: Will it sell? Will it offend any groups (there are places in America today that will not buy texts that call the Civil War the Civil War)? Can it be read and understood by the dull as well as by the bright? The textbook has certainly been a valuable tool in extending educa-

¹⁸ Ellwood P. Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1947), p. 293-294.

¹⁹ *Intergroup Relations in Teaching Materials* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1949).

²⁰ Lloyd Marcus, *The Treatment of Minorities in Secondary School Textbooks* (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1961).

²¹ John Hersey, "The Grey Flannel Textbook," *Life*, 36:136-140 (May 24, 1954); Abraham Tannenbaum, "Family Living in Textbook Town," *Progressive Education*, 31:133-141 (March 1954).

tion to the many, but it has its limitations, as, in fact, has any tool of instruction not reinforced by the critical and creative mind and actions of a teacher.

In today's world, with many new devices available for instruction, we need to remember the history of the textbook; although it educated generations, it also had significant limitations in the hands of the mediocre and the untrained.

SUMMARY

In this chapter we have considered some of the significant influences upon the course of American educational history. In such a short space we can only touch on a few of those things which seem of crucial importance. We have not, for instance, mentioned accreditation here; yet, in setting standards for public schools, this factor has been a very potent force in developing uniformity as well as encouraging quality of education. We have not talked about teacher certification standards, which also contributed an important ingredient to the development of a higher quality of instruction and learning in the classrooms of America. Accreditation and certification were discussed in Chapter 4.

This chapter considered several major factors in the development of the curriculum of the school: the ideas of some of the leading educational statesmen of America; the role of law and legislation in establishing policy and specifics of school instruction; the role of the organized profession through committee pronouncements in influencing the direction of educational change; and, finally, the prosaic but fundamental influence in the school textbook in determining what students

down the decades found themselves learning.

The curriculum of the school is the outcome of many streams and many divergent forces. Some are deliberate and based on study and research, others are the result of accident and whim and passing social pressures. Prospective teachers, like those before them, can realize to what extent they too are creatures of their culture. What the society rewards, in a real sense, is what it will produce in the minds and hearts of its young people.

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14

American Education in World Perspective

Of the many criticisms leveled against American education, among the most persistent have been those that claim that European schools are better than ours. Critics are usually from outside the field of education. They make comparisons regarding the level of intellectual discipline American youth achieve, the kind of behavior manifested in classrooms, the differences in teacher status, the competence achieved in written expression, and many other aspects of the educational process. Usually, American schools suffer from these comparisons.

How true are such charges? Are American schools really inferior on these counts? What better approaches are to be observed in European schools? In this chapter we will look at some of the school systems in Europe, examine some of the educational programs in non-European

countries, and also consider international problems of education that are of most concern.

Comparisons are always attended by some dangers. The most obvious is that the items being compared may not be of the same class. For instance, to compare the taste of an apple and an orange with the taste of a banana is patently ridiculous, particularly if in the process of making the comparison the fact that neither fruit tastes like a banana is considered to be a fault! In comparing educational systems, also, we have to be extremely careful that what we are comparing can, indeed, be compared.

DIFFERENCES IN SIGNIFICANT FACTORS AND GOALS

Comparison of educational systems may be difficult because of differences in what may be considered crucial or critical by the two or more societies being compared. Education is an important social function carried on by every culture in order to ensure the continuation by each succeeding generation of those elements in the society deemed essential for social and cultural survival. In comparing educational systems, then, we must be quite clear as to those elements in the society that are recognized as crucial; and these are bound to vary greatly from one culture to another. It is essential, for instance, in the Amazon jungle for very small children to learn which snakes are poisonous and which are not; which berries are edible and which are not; which sounds denote an enemy and which a friend. There are no letters to be learned, no words to be read, no sums to be added. This society considers other things far more essential for survival. By contrast, the English child must learn his alphabet, must learn his sums, must be able to read

with comprehension, but does not need to learn about snakes, edible berries, and the sounds of an enemy. The child growing up in either culture will feel completely incompetent in the other; yet this would not mean that the educational programs of either were better or worse. Each educational program is an effort to serve its own immediate social goal.

The degree to which factors being compared are critical or crucial has a relationship to the *goals* of the countries involved. The goals of American education are, in many significant respects, dissimilar to those of many other countries. For instance, we have accepted, and are committed to, the assumption that everyone should go to school as long as school is profitable to him and he wants to go. This has meant that every generation has sought ever more opportunities for further education to the point where we now can claim that nearly 75 percent of youth of secondary school age are in school, and nearly 30 percent of youth of college age are in some institution of higher learning.

Commendable as these statistics are, they tell only part of the story; the rest of the story becomes clear when we look at the statistics of other countries. There is no country other than the United States that, as of now, enrolls in educational institutions these proportions of its youth of secondary school and college age. Education in other countries has traditionally assumed that everything beyond elementary education should be primarily reserved for an intellectual elite. The American view is that secondary education is also the privilege of everyone, and that higher education should be made available to any and all who can profit by it. Here is a major and basic

distinction between the American view and that of other countries.

To compare educational systems which have such radically different orientations is to compare rather different institutions. True, we, too, set ourselves to educate the intellectually able for roles of leadership throughout our economy and our society; but we do not conceive of this education as necessarily taking them apart from their less gifted fellows, nor do we feel that this means that those less well endowed should not also be educated far beyond the elementary school level.

DIFFERENCES IN PLACEMENT OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR EDUCATION

A second highly significant difference between the schools of the United States and those of other countries has already been mentioned, but must be restated in a different context. In this country there is no national education program directed from the national level and setting standards for all. Each state, and usually each local school district in the United States as well, is its own judge of what should go into any given school program. Variations are extensive from town to town and from region to region. In almost every aspect of education, from qualifications for teachers to services that schools render pupils, we find vast differences, with only minimum common ground. And Americans believe fervently that this is as it should be. The schools are locally run, locally financed, and locally supervised. Not so in other countries. European systems are characterized by centralized national control. The curriculum is established at a national level, as are the training and certification of teachers. Inspec-

tion of schools is usually a national function, although certain local controls and variations are permitted in some countries. But the extent of local control exercised in the United States is absent in other countries. Our traditional fear of federal control of education is not found in other nations, where federal or national control over the major features of education is expected and no other procedures are even considered appropriate.

In the United States, the authority to operate schools and to determine educational policy rests with the states and is in turn delegated to local school boards. School boards are typically elected and made up of *lay persons*. In school systems in other countries such policy determination is almost wholly in the hands of a professional body made up of trained educators. Thus the needs and demands of society in the United States are interpreted by lay school boards, who hire the professional educators to administer these policies. In other school systems, the professional staff is hired by and is responsible to other professional personnel; only the broadest educational directives come from legislation at the national level. Although it is true that dissatisfaction with the schools in France or in England, for example, may eventually result in changes, it is also true that such changes take years and years to occur, since the whole system is designed to make change difficult; in America, on the other hand, change can occur readily—almost too readily some critics claim! The appearance at a school board meeting of a group of articulate parents can, for instance, result in a new report card, a change in teaching methods, selection of different textbooks, or new study emphases.

DIFFERENCES CONCERNING RELIGION AND EDUCATION

There is little doubt in the minds of American public school people and most of the lay public that our schools are secular and nonreligious. The separation of church and state is a doctrine firmly entrenched in local and political precedent, although the issue in some form or another, particularly regarding state and federal aid for parochial schools, is still very lively and in many respects unsolved. The major premise is accepted by all groups that the teaching of a specific doctrine has no place in the public classrooms of our country, but classroom religious observances is still an issue in many areas.

Here, then, is another significant difference between our schools and the schools of many foreign countries. In Japan, for instance, prior to World War II, Shintoism was a dominant force in shaping educational practice and content. In the Islamic states, the role of religion in education is not questioned. Israel, likewise, gives religious control to major segments of the educational programs. In Spain, the Roman Catholic Church controls all educational programs, with the state subordinate to the church in this relationship. In England, religious observances of a nondoctrinal nature are held daily, and doctrinal religious instruction also takes place within the public school program.¹

In the newly independent countries of Africa most of the education until now was in the hands of religious missions, modeled after those in the country from

¹Theodore Reller and Edgar L. Morphet, *Comparative Educational Administration* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1962), pp. 392-393.

which the particular missionaries came. It is probable that in these countries secular schools will rapidly replace schools run by religious orders or groups, though the role of religious leadership may be unclear for some time to come. Thus we can see that the state-church relationship in the United States is not the same as that in other nations. We are a nation of many religions, as distinct from the majority of the nations of the world, where most of the population subscribe to a single religious doctrine.

DIFFERENCES REGARDING EDUCATION FOR BOTH BOYS AND GIRLS

American education, it must be explicitly noted, makes no distinction between men and women or between boys and girls. It is assumed that education should be made equally available to all youth regardless of their sex. In only a few other countries, such as Russia, is this true. Even in England, where women have long had suffrage, both secondary and higher educational opportunities not only are more limited for women, but are less sought. In many of the African and non-Western countries in the Middle and Far East, girls and women are not thought to be educable in the intellectual sense. That this may produce social dislocations of grave concern is now apparent to students of educational programs abroad. The boys and men may gain a larger view of social goals and needs, yet the women, secluded at home or certainly cut off from learning about any world larger than the local hamlet or neighborhood, may resist such changes. Or, if the changes come anyway, they may be

achieved only at considerable personal cost and displacement.²

Here again, American education differs. Although women do not take as full advantage of educational opportunities beyond high school as do men, it is not because such opportunities are denied them. This view of education as being actually neutral—that education good for boys is equally good for girls and vice versa—makes our approach to educational problems and programs unique.

Thus we can see that comparisons are not only difficult but deceiving, since we are forced to compare systems which differ radically in many of their basic premises. However, understanding the systems of education of other countries—as well as our own—is very helpful in several ways. First, we can better understand national character when we carefully and objectively examine the kind of education that is provided for the developing citizen. The educational system will tell us what is valued, what is considered worthy of being passed on, what kinds of attitudes and behaviors are to be inculcated in the younger generation. Omissions from the curriculum are as important as what is included. Second, because American education is a hybrid, built on the educational experience of the early colonists, with its growth influenced by the heritage from Europe, so today we can find ways of improving the quality of our own programs by examining with care those that have succeeded in other countries. It is too easy to be complacent and to use the very fact of our different goals and different ways of operating as

² Helga Timm, "Citizenship Education for Girls," *Education Abstracts*, UNESCO, Vol. 11, No. 7, September 1959.

an excuse to ignore or underestimate programs in other countries.

EUROPEAN EDUCATION: MENTAL DISCIPLINE, NATIONALISM, AND PROPINQUITY

The three words in this heading characterize the nature of European education. Let us examine each one, with examples from various school systems.

Mental Discipline

The schools of Europe, in the main, prize depth of scholarship. The question "But what is the value of the subject?" is considered quite irrelevant. The ability to read Greek and Latin fluently is considered a value in its own right and thus not open to question. The underlying theory, particularly with regard to secondary education, is that this kind of education should develop a well-trained mind. In France, for instance, it is important to expose the child to a general education which results from

formal intellectual exercise, and from acquaintances with the great books, great ideas, and supporting facts. Vocational and prevocational orientation will come after school life. Reason is seen as a sort of searchlight on life, illuminating whatever it turns on.³

The French student learns by rote most of the lessons that he is to take. He is faced with rigorous examinations, which at crucial points in his life determine whether he will go on to the next higher rung in the educational ladder and the related status and prestige that go with

higher education or be relegated to the common mass of mankind. A typical secondary school program stresses the following subjects as fundamental during five hours of classes daily except Thursday and Sunday:

1. French (language, literature, composition, *explication des textes*); 2. Latin; 3. A foreign language; 4. A second foreign language or, if preferred, Greek; 5. Mathematics; 6. History and geography; 7. Natural sciences, botany, geology, in later years physics and chemistry. Pupils who do not elect the classical series take more advanced mathematics and more organic and inorganic sciences, as well as two foreign languages. The last year of schooling is devoted either to a heavy concentration of philosophy (including psychology and logic) or advanced mathematics and theoretical physics, with only a more summary study of logic and ethics.⁴

This program is seen in both the public and private (parochial) schools because all examinations for admittance to any higher level of education are administered by the state. The effect of this kind of secondary program, which is available only to those who pass the state examination at age eleven or twelve, is, of course, to make elementary education essentially a preparation for passing this examination. The early elementary grades, in preparation for the examination admitting a child to the lycée, are rigorous and demanding even though no homework is permitted. The lucky ones who are admitted to the lycée may have three to four years of intellectual exploration and excitement. From ages eleven to fourteen, according to one observer, "the student in the lycée participates vigorously in his education—but after the age of sixteen he sits in the classroom like a

³ Edmund J. King, *Other Schools and Ours* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1958), p. 46.

⁴ Henri Peyre, "Secondary Education in France," *Current History*, 35:86-87 (August 1958).

hardened lump of dough."⁵ The student in the upper years of secondary school is preparing to pass the baccalauréate, which will admit him to an advanced college or university. Of those who try this examination, only a small minority pass. Just being permitted to take it is, in some instances, sufficiently important to be put on one's calling card, even if one failed!

The English state-supported schools start instruction in reading and writing earlier than do most American schools. By the time the child is in the equivalent of our third grade he begins work in "exercise books." One parent reported that his child filled seventeen of these in one year, covering the work in seven distinct subjects. The use of these devices occurs in large part, so says one observer, because of the size of classes. In secondary school, the English child who has passed the appropriate examination at the age of eleven will study a traditional and classical program. Recitations are formal, and there is little class discussion. The subjects typically are English language, literature and history, geography, mathematics, science, Latin and/or Greek, French and/or German, with a few periods a week given to art, music, physical education and games. Only when the student reaches the sixth form (the last year of secondary education and the preparatory year for taking the university examinations) does the student's work become freer and more individualized. At this level he can select the area of concentration in which he will take his examination, to the virtual exclusion of almost any other subject. If he selects mathematics and physics for his major

interests, he can have a weekly schedule that organizes his study hours as follows: mathematics (12), physics (7), genetics (2), English (4), French (3), art (1), divinity (1), and the remainder for games and physical education. A student whose emphasis is in the classical languages may, over a two-week period, spend between 39 and 41 hours on Latin and Greek, 5 on history, and the remaining few hours among the other traditional subjects.⁶ As can be seen, the pattern of English education and its emphases are quite different from the comprehensive program of the American elementary and secondary school.

In other European countries the emphasis on intellectual discipline is similar. The basic courses consist of several foreign languages, including the native tongue, mathematics, science, history, and geography. Such "frills" as music, art, industrial arts, homemaking, drama, speech—the familiar gamut in the American comprehensive secondary school—are missing from the European scene. Vocational courses are to be found in separate institutions. An interesting exception is the Danish schools, where girls are instructed in needlework and knitting, with the result that nearly all Danish girls are excellent knitters! Very few Danish youth, however, go on to the academic high schools. In order to educate out-of-school youth the Danish government requires that evening school classes be made available for such young people. In addition, the "folk schools" of Denmark, unique institutions, offer adult education for all in the arts of the country.⁷

⁶ Harry Passow, *Secondary Education for All: The English Approach* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 1961).

⁷ Lyman Burbank, "Education—Danish Style," *Social Education*, 20:156-160 (April 1956).

⁵ Martin Mayer, *The Schools* (New York: Harper & Row, 1961), p. 271.

An examination of the tests given English youth for matriculation to a college or university show that most such tests seem to call for rote learning, uncritical repetition of facts, and lack of interest in creativity or breadth, a criticism often also leveled, unfortunately, at American schools.⁸ Contemporary findings in the psychology of learning appear to be of little influence on school programs, although experimentation and reorganization are taking place in many of these countries. France, the country where Alfred Binet, who devised the first intelligence test, did his work, is not interested in using intelligence tests. The major concern of education in France is cultural and scholarly and only incidentally vocational or practical.

This intellectual emphasis also appears in places where it seems incongruous to us. In former colonial possessions, the little schooling that was typically made available was modeled after the mother country. In India, for instance, the program of education through the secondary school was designed to get students through "The Cambridges," as the entrance examinations to the universities are termed. This condition holds true today, with the result that much of traditional secondary education in India is hardly useful for preparing a population to deal with truly overwhelming social, economic, and political problems. The exporting of this particular form of education, whether it was Dutch, English, French, or German, has not produced native populations able to do their own governing and to deal with their own problems of technology and education.

⁸ Scarvis Anderson, "English Elementary and Secondary Education," *Current History*, 35:140-146 (September 1958).

Nationalism

A second factor determining much of what the European schools do is the overriding concern with nationalism. As has been mentioned, the school systems are highly centralized and controlled, so that there is a consistent national program throughout each country. Regional variations are practically unknown, although differences between rural and urban schools are noted primarily in terms of numbers of students continuing into higher education. There is a most striking difference between the United States and European countries regarding the development, as soon and as extensively as possible, of an understanding of other cultures and their own place in the world. There is no such emphasis in European countries. One observer noted that, although in many classrooms in Europe there may be maps of Europe in evidence, there is almost never a world map or a map of the United States. Ancient history and the history of the country itself constitute most of the content of the history course. Contemporary affairs are not considered fit subjects for school instruction. In Switzerland, for instance, the history teachers feel that anything that occurred during the last twenty or thirty years is too close to view objectively. In Italy, contemporary events of the last several decades cannot be taught because they are far too controversial. Similarly, French teachers feel that any discussion of current affairs would be too time-consuming. Such teachers feel that any information about current happenings the students may wish may be found in the newspapers, despite the fact that objective journalism is the exception in France.

French youth, who are not considered mature enough to discuss con-

temporary events in class, have the following program in the six-year lyc  e:

First year, from the dawn of history, through the civilization of Greece and Rome; second year, from the fall of Rome to the eve of the French Revolution; third year, the French Revolution through World War I; fourth year, a return to the 17th and 18th centuries, providing for a more extended coverage of the period; fifth year, a reappraisal on a higher level of the period between the French Revolution and the eve of the Franco-Prussian War; sixth year, a continuation in depth of the 1870-1939 period.⁹

This same author notes with some concern that little time is devoted to other than ancient and national history, and also that the world role of the United States is slighted in almost all schools but Britain's. Similarly, Canada and Latin America hardly exist in the textbooks of Europe.

Andr   Maurois, a leading French intellectual, defends this state of affairs by an observation worth pondering:

Most French educators would say that current affairs are out of place at school. My own master, the philosopher Alsin, used to say "Education should be resolutely in arrears." He meant that the task of school and university is to transmit to the young generation the culture patiently accumulated by centuries. If in school one does not study Homer and Plato, Shakespeare and Moli  re, Dickens and Tolstoy, there is a good chance he will never read them at all. If one neglects history in favor of current affairs, first he will never know history, and second he will not understand current affairs. The part of the schools is not to expedite current affairs but to initiate students in timeless affairs.¹⁰

⁹ Anthony Scarangelo, "History Teaching in European High Schools," *Social Education*, 20: 205-208 (May 1956).

¹⁰ Andr   Maurois, "A Frenchman Appraises U.S. Schools," *Saturday Review*, April 15, 1961, pp. 54-55 ff.

Perhaps some of the reasons for the instability of the French government and the difficulty of resolving crises may be attributed to the past-oriented education Frenchmen receive. The average citizen obtains his political education via a partisan press, more conducive to passion than reason in discussing public affairs. As Bereday points out, the educated French intellectual has a "curious inability . . . to break through from the theoretical to the practical."¹¹

In terms of amount of secondary school time devoted to the social sciences, the United States would rank on a par with most European countries, with about 15 percent of school time devoted to the "human sciences" although a few European countries, such as Yugoslavia, devote somewhat more school time to these subjects. A study of the allocation of time in primary schools throughout the world indicated that only about 9 percent of the school program was devoted to "moral education and social science."¹² The European-educated child knows the glory of his own country well but is apt to be an uncritical and partisan viewer of the current scene. That this emphasis on intellectual competence may be too narrow is, however, gaining recognition in France. Movements toward reform seem to recognize that "the high degree of intellectual competence achieved through French secondary education has been at the expense of civic, social, and political competence."¹³ The response of

¹¹ George Z. F. Bereday, "A Comparative Look at English, French, and Soviet Education," *Current History*, 35:165-171 (September 1958).

¹² *Preparation of General Secondary School Curriculum* (Geneva: International Bureau of Education, UNESCO Publication No. 216; Paris: 1960), pp. 87-91, 93.

¹³ Reller and Morphet, *op. cit.*, pp. 392-393.

immature persons to the appeals of Communism or to the terrorist movements of, say, the Secret Army in Algeria, can be assumed to be the result of lack of political education in the schools.

The dangers of excessive nationalism as a focus of educational effort are apparent when one reads the history of Germany. We can see much of it repeated in the programs offered to students in Russia. A glance at the social science syllabi for three courses at the university level shows how limited indeed is the information provided for even these students. Descriptions of events leading up to and including World War II are exclusively concerned with Russian involvement. Sources for reading appear to be primarily the works of Lenin, Marx, Stalin (at one time), and official pronouncements of the Supreme Soviet. This type of material could not fail to make any student an uncritical supporter of his own nation.¹⁴

Proximity

Another striking feature of European schools is the great proportion of time devoted to the study of languages, both ancient and modern. In recent years American schools have been bestirring themselves to do more with foreign language instruction, but by comparison with European schools our programs are very meager. There are some economic—as well as traditional—reasons for this difference. We have pointed out earlier that Americans were at one time highly suspicious of anyone who spoke a foreign tongue—he might not be wholly “Ameri-

can” or even loyal. In Europe, the survival of business, as well as the advancement of scholarship, depended on the educated elites knowing several foreign languages. So much of European business depends on foreign markets that any businessman or government official can expect to deal with people speaking other languages. The nearness of nations speaking different languages is obvious from a glance at the map. Travel in European countries for vacations is common, again giving a high utility to fluency in several other languages. In advanced work in universities many basic research materials are not translated, notably those in English, French, and German. Hence a Danish or Norwegian scholar would be greatly handicapped if he knew only his own tongue. In addition, there is a widespread cultural value placed on bilingualism in many of the countries of Europe which, in effect, says that an educated man is one who can speak and read in at least one other language besides his own.¹⁵ In Denmark, a student who enters high school has *already* had four years of English and three of German, in addition to studying his native language. In the language curriculum of the secondary school, which is one of several options, the student will have three years more of English and German as well as three years of French, Latin, and sometimes Greek! Incidentally, only in recent years has the Danish student read any American literature as part of his preparation in English, a fairly common situation in most of the schools giving instruction in the English language.¹⁶

¹⁴ *Administration of Teaching in Social Sciences in the USSR: Syllabi for Three Required Courses* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1960).

¹⁵ Mayer, *op. cit.*, pp. 294-295.

¹⁶ Lyman Burbank, “Education—Danish Style,” *Social Education*, 20:156-160 (April 1956).

In an English grammar school on the coast near France, students who are in their third year of studying French are fourteen or fifteen and are fairly fluent in the language. Their interest in French is helped considerably by the fact that France lies just across the English Channel and each French class takes one-day trips there each year as easily as we take our students on a field trip to the state capitol.

EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES DIFFER

European education is characterized by some other distinct differences that must be noted. The two-track system, screening the elite for academic secondary education and an even smaller elite for higher education, is to be found universally in Europe. There is little current effort to provide secondary education for all youth beyond age fourteen or fifteen.

In France, for instance, of the 500,000 children in school at age thirteen, less than 10 percent succeed in reaching the university. In England, only about half the primary school children take the eleven plus examination for admission to grammar schools (secondary schools). Of these only about half pass the examination, and less than one fifth of those who do go on to grammar schools eventually get to a university.¹⁷

This state of affairs has traditionally meant that the upper classes perpetuated their class position through better access to better preparatory schools which could, in turn, better prepare them for the

highly rigorous entrance (or elimination) examinations. In addition, of course, the labor of youth is needed on the farms and in the factories of Europe, unlike the labor surplus in America, where youth as productive workers are not needed.

Since World War II, however, there has been a good deal of dissatisfaction with this kind of education for an intellectual and social elite, and considerable pressure has been exerted by the lower middle classes and laboring groups to make higher education more readily accessible to all classes. There is also pressure to raise the school-leaving age.

A number of minor and perhaps relatively less significant characteristics of European schools will be noted briefly. Although elementary education is often coeducational, secondary education is not. Educational opportunities for girls and women, in theory the equal of those for men, are in fact more limited because fewer positions are available to the educated woman.

Most schools, public or private, require students to wear uniforms. This practice makes for more equality since differences in dress are wiped out, and it also identifies the school child very quickly. Where the school itself has a distinctive costume, out-of-school behavior may be better.

The prevalence of interschool competitive sports, a familiar part of the American scene, is almost everywhere absent from the European school. Sports have a place, though a minor one. Although secondary schools in the United States on the average devote 14.4 percent of the curriculum to physical education, of all European countries only Spain gives a larger proportion of time. Most other

¹⁷ Bereday, *loc. cit.*

systems devote from 3 to 6 percent of their time to sports activities.¹⁸

In few places are reports to parents considered important or essential; the great goal of each educational level is preparation for examinations. These are highly competitive, highly selective, and state-administered.

This rather brief overview of European education does not do justice to the variety and richness of the schools in these countries. Although we may be surprised by many of their practices, and even dubious about some, we can also be certain that there is much to be gained from a close and objective study of what they do. Certainly education is a serious occupation for the young in most of these countries. In France, for instance, "The formal model of French culture must be learned. There is no other way of becoming a worthwhile person." And this can only be accomplished in the school. Yet the French do not have any sense of school loyalty or pride.¹⁹ It is true, too, that teachers as a class have higher prestige in European countries than they have in America, even though they are not necessarily better paid.

We have not, in this section, had room to discuss the education of teachers in Europe. Perhaps this may be of interest to you and your class. Certainly the kind of education European teachers receive is different in many respects from that in the United States. Is it better? In what ways? In what ways is your own education a better preparation for teaching as

a career, given the differences in educational systems?

RUSSIA: A SPECIAL CASE

A discussion of European education would not be complete without some special attention to the educational system of the Soviet Union. A new look at the way in which Soviet youth are being educated was prompted by recent and unexpected achievements in space science and rocketry. How such a backward nation could so completely surpass the United States was the question many asked. A simple answer seemed to be that the Russians prepare scientists better than we do. Immediately the cry went up that American educators were at fault, and as usual the schools became the scapegoats for a national failure. Still, the benefits from this new concern over education resulted in greatly increased attention to the teaching of science and mathematics in our schools. American educators also developed a new interest in Soviet education, and gained some interesting new insights. Russia, in terms of population the third largest nation in the world and in terms of today's ideological climate the major power that the citizens of a democracy must understand, has a most interesting educational system. Since the Revolution of 1917, the education of the youth of Russia has been a very important state concern. Basically oriented toward the European model, the pre-Revolutionary schools differed relatively little from those of Germany and France at that time. The cultivated Russian learned French and spoke it in preference to Russian, which was considered a peasant language. For a time after the Revolution the Russian schools were in chaos. The masses

¹⁸ *Preparation of General Secondary School Curriculum*, pp. 87-91.

¹⁹ Jesse Pitts, "The Family and Peer Groups," in Norman W. Bell and Ezra F. Vogel (Eds.), *A Modern Introduction to the Family* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1960), pp. 274 ff.

of the people were completely illiterate, probably the largest illiterate population of any major European country at that time. This had, of course, been a deliberate policy of the czars, and was one of the many grievances of the population against the monarchy.

During the mid-1930's some Russian schools experimented with a version of what they understood to be progressive education, with students and teachers as peers, little or no direct teaching, and somewhat individualized curriculums. It was found, however, that these approaches did not develop enough support for the regime. With Stalin's rise to power many changes were instituted. Primary among these were efforts to make the schools more rigid, to centralize control, and to make education available to those most loyal to the party in preference to those who might have intellectual ability. The Russian schools today are once again changing. Chairman Khrushchev has publicly criticized the overemphasis on intellectual skills as compared with the productive labor around which the communist revolution and its goals were developed. At the same time he has boasted about the superiority of Russian higher education, particularly in the area of engineering and allied technical sciences. It is not always clear what trends the current changes may produce. However, the basic characteristics of the Russian education system as it is today are well known, and are worth examining and comparing with our own. Nursery schools are a very vital adjunct to the Soviet economy: without them the needed woman-power would be unavailable. Every factory and industry has such a facility. Mothers are given maternity leave, but soon after the babies are born and even while they are

still being nursed, they are placed in nurseries and the mothers return to their jobs. The mothers are permitted to go to the nursery to feed their infants; otherwise these babies are in the care of the nursery staff during the day. The typical nursery is extremely well staffed, with one adult to nearly every two or three youngsters. The children are given constant and instant attention. Visitors have noted no signs of crying or quarreling among the children. The nurseries often have expensive rugs and elaborate curtains on the windows, which are never molested by the children. The shower of love which descends on the Russian baby from the time he is born produces, in these state-run nursery schools, happy, calm healthy children.²⁰

When the child enters the formal school, things change for him: school will be hard work and the child is expected to succeed at it. A most striking feature of the Soviet system is the complete denial of individual differences. Except for 1 percent who are considered defective, educational officials expect 99 percent to finish satisfactorily a rigorous academic program which we would expect no more than 40 to 50 percent of our students to finish at best. Close observation tends to confirm the view that between 50 and 80 percent of Russian youth do finish the program of ten years of academic study. How can this be so, asked one visiting psychologist?

The explanation, I believe, can be found in the motivation of both the student and the teacher. The student knows that in Soviet society there is a direct relationship between educational level and one's future economic and social status. In fact, students

²⁰ Benjamin Spock, "Russian Children Don't Whine, Squabble, or Break Things: Why?" *Ladies Home Journal*, 77:30 (October 1960).

can estimate what their income will be ten years hence on the basis of how far they go in school and what fields they enter. . . .

The importance attached to education by the government serves as a further spur. Youngsters are told that the nation's welfare demands a reservoir of trained people so that the number of specialists in any field (such as engineering or metallurgy) can be doubled or tripled in a very short time should the need arise.

The factor of teacher motivation is another basic reason why Russian schools have been able to achieve rather spectacular results. The assumption that all individuals are capable of mastering the academic program places responsibility for satisfactory learning squarely on the shoulders of the teacher.²¹

There is an interesting point here: if one assumes all children can succeed will they then succeed? In our schools we readily admit that some learners are more able than others, and we tend to want to separate them. Perhaps this increases the lack of ability to learn rather than promoting it. In any event, the Russians are committed to a Pavlovian theory of human behavior which denies the teachings of Freud and others who stress unconscious and subconscious factors. Such a view would naturally be reflected in the Russian daily treatment of students.

Classroom routines are European to a great extent. Each child keeps a notebook for every subject, in which he records his daily work and daily homework. The teacher reviews each notebook—though not every day—and gives the student a grade. At the end of each week the parent is expected to sign the daybook, indicating that he, too, knows of the

student's progress. Recitations on the day's lessons are also graded, though observers noted that often the teacher was somewhat lenient, and did not mark too harshly if a child had not done well.²²

Discipline, from all reports, appears to be very good, but the source of discipline is very different from any we know. The class itself is the disciplining agent. Competition, instead of being between individuals, is between classes and schools. There are numerous awards and trophies given each year for the best class in many categories. The Young Pioneers, the junior branch of the Communist party, are also a source of discipline, since it is one of their tasks to see to it that their classmates come up to the mark. Students, as well as teachers, help each other succeed, since the honor of the school is at stake. Teachers admit to very few cases of student misbehavior.²³

One reason for the success of the Soviet school system has been attributed to the fact that the total society is in complete agreement upon goals and values. Both in and out of school the child is reminded of his duty to his fatherland and the responsibility he must feel to contribute to its strength as the leader of communist nations. He seldom hears concepts or ideas contrary to those that are acceptable to the state. All the mass media to which he may be exposed—movies, television, radio, books, and so on—are all state-approved. He has little opportunity or reason for questioning that which is offered to him.

The regular ten-year school program received much attention in the United States after the first Russian Sputnik

²¹ Henry Chauncey, "Some Notes on Education and Psychology in the Soviet Union," *American Psychologist*, 14:307-312 (June 1959). Reprinted by permission of the American Psychological Association.

²² George Z. F. Bereday *et al.*, *The Changing Soviet School* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1960), p. 179.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

orbited the earth and jarred the world to a hasty reappraisal of the technological potential Russia possesses. The school curriculum is rigorous, stressing science and mathematics and at least one foreign language.

The Russian public school does not usually concern itself with some subjects that are normally found in American schools. Music, art, the dance, physical education, and games are provided outside the school curriculum by the Young Pioneer Organization to which most children belong and by young communist groups for older youth. These are well staffed and equipped and are important educative forces. Outstanding talent in the arts or ballet may bring a child a state-supported education in a special school beginning at an early age.

Of special interest is the kind of examination process that is used, since examinations in Russia, as they are in most European countries, are the focal point of many years of instruction.

For the tenth-grade oral examination in solid geometry, for example, a class of 30 is divided into two sections of fifteen each. All 15 students go into a classroom where the teacher of the class, the director of the school, one or two other teachers, and sometimes representatives of the educational authorities of the city sit as an examining board.

On the table, at which the board sits, are 20 to 25 "tickets," each of which contains three questions. Two of them are rather standard proofs or problems, and the third a problem that, while not new in type, is perhaps a little different from the problems that have been assigned during the year. All three questions are concerned with a particular topic, and each of the 20 to 25 tickets covers a different topic. Students therefore have to be sure that they have covered all the topics, since they can never tell in advance which question they may be called upon to answer. Fortunately, for

them, the Ministry of Education publishes a pamphlet several months before the examinations in which the topics to be covered are listed, and in some instances the first questions are specifically stated. Only the third problem or question remains in doubt.

At the beginning of the examination four or five students select their "tickets." Then they return to their desks and work out the answers. When the first student is prepared he goes to the blackboard and writes out his answers on the blackboard. He then explains his answers to the examiners and responds to any questions they may have. The examiners may ask questions about any aspect of the course, but I gather that this privilege is not exercised to any great extent. Meanwhile, of course, Students 2, 3, and 4 have had considerable time to prepare their answers; but at the same time they have had a good deal of distraction. Students 13, 14, and 15 have to sit through a long morning of waiting until their turns come up.²⁴

A recent examination of the textbooks used by Russian children and those used by American youngsters pointed out some interesting differences. While the American child reads a basic primer with carefully controlled vocabulary, the content of which tends to be extremely repetitive, the Russian child is very soon reading texts which include literature from some of the best authors of the old regime.²⁵ The considerable critical comment that has been directed at the American primer may well be justified. But what has rarely been recognized when the two systems are compared is the difference in the phonetic aspects of the two languages. English is not an easy language to learn to read; it is only sporadically phonetic. Russian, on the other

²⁴ Chauncey, *loc. cit.*, p. 311.

²⁵ Arthur S. Trace, *What Ivan Knows That Johnny Doesn't* (New York: Random House, 1961).

hand, is completely phonetic; hence, the Russian child needs little initial instruction in order to connect the written symbol and the spoken word. The fact remains that Russian primers have a different content when compared with American primers. In order, however, to compare the results of reading instruction under the two systems it would be necessary to have test results that were statistically expressed and had similar bases as well as data concerning the amount of instruction and comparable age groupings. Because of the lack of communication with Russian educators, it is not possible to prove the superiority of reading instruction one way or the other.

Not all is well, however, with the Soviet educational system. In the last few years some sweeping changes have been ordered. It was felt, for instance, that the academic focus in the ten-year schools was not preparing youth to take their place in factory and farm in the numbers needed: too many recent graduates were becoming intellectual snobs.²⁶ The result of such criticisms has been to introduce a great deal more vocational training, to insist on at least a year of industrial or farm labor on the part of all youth in addition to a stepped-up emphasis on the value of such labor to the homeland. Khrushchev, in making these changes, was reacting to a situation also noticed by foreign observers that Russia's youth who sought university education as the great goal were not satisfied with other goals when only a limited number could attain such an education. Unlike the United States, where an increase in interest in higher education has produced strenuous efforts to increase facilities, the Soviet

Union does not appear to want to extend such opportunity generally. This undoubtedly is a reaction to their great manpower needs due to the millions lost during the war. It may also be due to a justified suspicion that, even in a communist society, the educated man is apt to be a questioning man.²⁷

Experimentation, as observers have noted, is still going on in the Russian schools. The Russians themselves are far from satisfied with the results of their current program and are striving not only to raise the total educational level of the country but to reduce the still vast area of illiteracy. It is probable that factors other than their educational system account for the fact that the Russians have made such astounding advances in the field of space exploration. A country that is seeking to "catch up" may have more reason to strive harder than a country that is ahead. A country directed by an authoritarian government may organize national effort and commit resources to a specific purpose and to the achievement of selected national goals without having to worry about the cost in terms of general standards of living or individual needs. Finally, there are some who say that as a rich and vigorous nation we may have become complacent, too willing to rest on our laurels, unwilling to face the reality of the strength and the intensity of purpose our cold-war foe possesses.

EDUCATION IN NON-EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

The greatest need in most countries in the world today is education. Many

²⁶ Richard Renfield, "The Soviets Are Criticizing Their Schools," *NEA Journal*, 48:22-25 (March 1959).

²⁷ Richard A. Gregg, "Russia's Pampered Youths," *Harper's*, 215:73-79 (August 1957).

newly independent nations are spending over half their annual incomes to build educational systems that lack school buildings, trained teachers, instructional supplies, and everything else but students. Some nations are even without a written language that can be generally accepted by all for school instruction. There are several reasons for this state of affairs. As mentioned earlier, colonialism is chiefly responsible. Under the colonial system European countries viewed their colonies as sources of raw material and as captive markets for finished goods. The people were treated with disdain as inferiors, if not savages. It was a rare colonial power that thought it to be in its own best interests to develop an educated populace. Among the few who made any effort to provide some kind of mass education was the United States, and even our record is not good. Former Asian and African colonies are often in trouble because of the absence of educated native leadership to replace the departed Europeans.

As we have noted, the former colonies tended to take over the European model for their own educational system, even when this model does not meet current pressing needs. For instance, the need in the new African nations is for individuals skilled in agriculture, public administration, education, and technology, but the Belgian model provides primarily for education in the classics and humanities. The same is only too true of education in India and Pakistan, where the educated gentleman was not supposed to dirty his hands with labor. The acute shortage of engineers in such countries increases their need to call upon outsiders.

Another obstacle to education in recently freed colonies is the old tradition in most of them against all-out support

for such educational efforts. The labor of children and youth is needed on the marginal farms. In most non-European countries it is not thought desirable to provide extensive education for girls and women. Since the parental and grand-parental generations have not been educated, they are afraid of what might happen to the whole family structure if youth are given a new view of life and society. Age-old traditions may be imperiled by the new idea of education.

At the same time there is a vast hunger for education in all the newly independent countries. It is predicted that in the years to come the greatest need in Central Africa will be public secondary education. One report noted that facilities are now available for less than 1 percent of the population to continue into a secondary school, and it added that primary education is not generally available.²⁸ It has been stated by Peter Drucker, the noted economist, that in the next several decades perhaps our most valuable export will be education.²⁹

International exchanges of many kinds are increasing in number every year. In 1950 there were about 30,000 students from other countries studying in America; in 1962 the statistics indicate that there were nearly 70,000 in residence at American institutions of higher learning. In the years before World War II the foreign student was a rarity on most campuses. The International Houses at

²⁸ Wendell P. Jones, "The Future of Public Secondary Education in Africa," *High School Journal*, 44:2-7 (October 1960).

²⁹ Peter Drucker, "The American Economy in the Next Twenty Years," *Citizenship and a Free Society* (Thirtieth Yearbook, National Council for the Social Studies; Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1960), pp. 109-116.

Columbia University and the University of California in the 1930's were symbols of a need to establish special residence facilities for those few students who came here from abroad to study. Today the foreign student is to be found on nearly every campus. Similarly, American students of every age and level are going abroad in unprecedented numbers. Many universities and colleges now have a junior-year-abroad program. Graduate students, teachers, and many specialists are going abroad under Fulbright fellowships, exchange programs, special governmental or private grants, or on their own initiative to study, travel, learn, and work.

Several important trends are to be noted. First is the fact that more students from Asian and African countries are now coming to America. In previous decades foreign students were primarily European, although there were also many Chinese and Japanese scholars. Moreover, Americans are studying in countries outside Europe or travel abroad to perform special services for these host countries. Our record in terms of foreign students may be a notable one, but it is not unique. Although eighteen institutions had over 400 foreign students each in 1958-1959 and five had more than 1000, this is but a fraction of the total number of students in our colleges. By comparison it is interesting to note that 40 percent of the college population in Morocco is foreign; that in Switzerland, Austria, and Tunisia over 30 percent of the collegiate population is foreign; and that between 8 and 10 percent of the university students in England, France, and Germany are from other countries.³⁰

The extent to which Russia has been encouraging foreign students from satellite nations and from Western and neutral nations is well known. Through lavish scholarship support and other inducements the Soviet Union has made a special effort to attract students from the newly independent African nations. Whatever the motivation of the students, it is becoming increasingly apparent that education is crossing national borders and should contribute to a better international understanding.

That this has not always been so is attested to by some recent studies of the effect of living and studying abroad. Some foreign students in our country, for instance, come with stereotyped notions about America and select only those experiences which tend to reinforce these stereotypes. Others come with a more open mind and are able to see both the good and the bad in their experiences here. We must hope—and try to see—that most students return to their homeland as warm friends of the United States.³¹

One of the major new programs involving large groups of teachers in international activities is the Peace Corps. Viewed with skepticism by some and with alarm by others when it was first announced in 1961, in just a few short years the Peace Corps has proven to be not only highly successful, but a remarkable testimonial to the power of an idea. One volunteer captured the spirit when he said, "Most jobs in Washington mean working for a man. Working for the Peace Corps is working for an idea." Those who volunteer to participate, after careful screening and special training, go

³⁰ *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 335:12 (May 1961).

³¹ "Impact of Studying Abroad," *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (1962).

abroad to countries which have invited them, where they live and work among the people. It is truly dedicated work, for the pay is only a token amount and is deposited in the United States. The subsistence level is also minimal. It is interesting to note that most of those serving in the Peace Corps abroad are working in some educational program.³²

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

The United States is involved in education abroad as exemplified by the many American educators who are working in foreign countries; it is also an active participant in the programs sponsored by UNESCO. Some efforts at international cooperation in the field of education were made under the auspices of the League of Nations. Although there were interchanges of scholars and some attempts at mutual aid, however, there was no definite movement toward a general pooling of educational advances on the part of the member nations. With the establishment of UNESCO, however, the nations of the world have agreed that the exchange of educational understandings is of major importance. Through this agency many pilot programs have been started that test not only methods for developing basic literacy, but ways of helping nations to help themselves.

That the problem of cooperation in educational matters is not easily solved can be seen from only a few examples. For more than thirty years, Norway and

Sweden have been trying to get together on a history of their mutual wars which was satisfactory to both countries. In the United States we have not yet solved the semantic problem of what to call the war of the 1860's—the Civil War? the War between the States? So it is with every national issue facing an international world. We see history and events through the special eyes of our own condition, failing to note that across the fence there are others who see the same thing so very differently. When, for instance, will Israel and the United Arab Republic be able to agree to a common history of their troubles?

The efforts of UNESCO are spread around the world. This agency of the United Nations attempts to raise the general productivity of any country without regard to its political ideology. Teams of engineers, educators, political scientists, agricultural experts, nutritionists, and so forth are sent wherever the need becomes apparent. Pilot projects have been established in key spots to show what can be done with modern technology. Training centers have been set up to demonstrate ways in which a team of trained workers can help a community work together to tackle its own problem, whether it is sewage disposal, education for basic literacy, or mosquito control. The community so assisted can then move ahead to help make life better for each individual in it.

The programs of UNESCO have been under attack in several places in the United States. Some school systems have forbidden teachers to discuss them in class; in some places the United Nations itself is also taboo as a subject for classroom discussion. Why this is so is not entirely clear. The fact that UNESCO assumes no ideological position may be

³² Sargent Shriver, "Peace Corps: Trial Balance—One Year Later," *Saturday Review*, 45:22 (May 19, 1962).

part of the objection: its mission is to help people, not states, and so the UNESCO teams do not favor any political group. American cooperation in this enterprise is based on our assumption that people who are educated, who can learn to work together to solve their own problems, are the world's best promise for democracy and peace.

Other international agencies aid in educational programs on many fronts. Such groups as WHO, the World Health Organization, and UNICEF, the international agency dedicated to the welfare of children, are examples of the ways in which such international cooperation is working in nonpolitical areas.

The foundation, however, upon which international understanding and international educational efforts must rest is in the classrooms of a nation's elementary and secondary schools. Here attitudes are formed or altered. Care must be taken, as we present other cultures to our students, that we help them see people as people, not as quaint or peculiar or odd or disgusting, just because they differ from us in appearance or dress or ways of living. Too often, without our even knowing it, even our well-meaning efforts to broaden the cultural view of children have only resulted in reinforcing stereotypes or creating new ones. Instructional materials should be carefully examined to see that they portray other people with dignity, sympathy, and accuracy. We must constantly keep in mind that not only do we live in a world of many cultures, most of which differ markedly from our own in almost every respect, but that as Americans we are increasingly active beyond our own borders. It is safe to predict that the next

generations will regard traveling, working, and studying abroad as commonplace. We must help our children be ready for these experiences so that understanding and cooperation are strengthened rather than weakened.

SUMMARY

The educational programs of other countries are different from the program in the United States. The main differences stem from the highly nationalized control of education as opposed to local control in our country; the highly selective programs which provide secondary and higher education for very limited numbers as compared with our less selective, broader programs; and classical methods and subject matter rather than the more diversified and heterogeneous methodology and subject matter found in American schools.

European educational systems are strong and in general are adequately supported financially. They have evolved through the years, and even centuries, just as ours has. Thus they are products of, as well as contributors to, the cultures they serve; and the same is true of ours. For us to imitate their educational system, or for them to imitate ours, to any large extent is unlikely. Educational systems are deeply rooted in the social and cultural systems of which they are a part.

One of the most compelling needs of our time is education for all the masses throughout the world. Our shrinking world can no longer tolerate illiteracy and ignorance. The elimination of these evils is increasingly being seen as a worldwide cooperative task for all nations.

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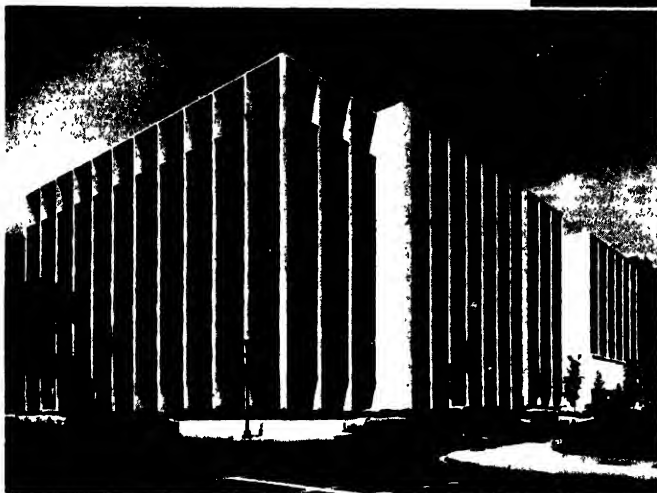
MONTGOMERY COUNTY, MARYLAND, PUBLIC SCHOOLS

PART IV

IS TEACHING A PROFESSION? WHAT CONSTITUTES A PROFESSION? THESE AND SIMILAR QUESTIONS FACE TEACHERS TODAY AS EDUCATION BECOMES INCREASINGLY ESSENTIAL AND TEACHING BECOMES MORE COMPLEX AND SCIENTIFIC. THERE IS NO SINGLE CHALLENGE MORE SIGNIFICANT TO THE FUTURE OF OUR CIVILIZATION THAN THAT OF STRENGTHENING THE POSITION OF THE TEACHER IN OUR SOCIETY. TYPICAL OF THE PROBLEMS FACULTIES FACE AS THEY LOOK AHEAD ARE THOSE OF IN-SERVICE EDUCATION FOR ALL TEACHERS, NEW TECHNIQUES, EQUIPMENT, AND

*Professionalism
and Values*

TEACHING MATERIALS
CORPORATION. PHOTO
BY HAMMID.



NEA

MATERIALS FOR TEACHING AND
THE HEALTH AND HAPPINESS OF
BOYS AND GIRLS IN AN AGE OF
RAPID CHANGE AND TECHNO-
LOGICAL AUTOMATION.

15

Teaching and the Character- istics of a Profession

How is professionalism determined? At first it may seem simple, but second thoughts reveal that determining professional status can be a complicated matter. Often the approach may be a very loose or indiscriminate one. For example, some people may identify professionalism in terms of its being the opposite of amateurism. This informal perception of professionalism is used loosely and without preciseness. A ballplayer is an amateur until he is paid money for playing ball; then he is a professional.

Prestige is another factor that may be significant in determining professionalism. Everyone knows that different kinds of work are viewed with greater or lesser respect. Did you ever hear the expression,

"I would rather dig ditches than do that"? Somehow, digging ditches has come to be identified with work that one does if he can find nothing else. There is a "prestige" value to one line of work that another seems to lack.

In studies of how people feel toward different kinds of work, individuals were asked to indicate either on a questionnaire or during an interview how they felt about different kinds of work in terms of prestige values. All these studies have shown that people assign different statuses to different kinds of work. In general they agree, for example, in putting a doctor, a lawyer, a minister, or a dentist at the top of the list in terms of prestige. These traditional professions have maintained their status in the minds of people for a long time.

Other factors may give a particular kind of work professional status in the minds of people. One such element is income. And yet one of the most respected professions has always been the ministry, and it is well known that the income level of ministers is not high.

Professionalism is more than the opposite of amateurism. It is more than high prestige, and it is more than high income. It is a combination of many factors. In this chapter professionalism will be identified in terms of four characteristics or earmarks of a profession. These are essentially criteria and represent what seem to be the substance of the thinking and writing that has been done on the subject of professionalism. As each characteristic is discussed, comparison will be made with teaching in order to provide some understanding of whether or not teaching qualifies as a profession. Following this, certain activities and accompaniments of a profession will be presented, again in relation to teaching.

A PROFESSION IS BASED UPON A BODY OF KNOWLEDGE AND A SYSTEM OF SKILLS

At first glance, this heading appears to be a statement of the obvious. Certainly, there must be some kind of knowledge associated with a profession, and there are always certain skills which a professional person must exercise as part of his work. The significance of professional knowledge and skill lies in the fact that each requires a high intellectual ability for mastery and understanding. The kind of knowledge that forms a base for professional work is that which not everyone can acquire. Its mastery requires a long period of intense study. The same is true of the skills which are part of the practice of a profession. These highly sophisticated skills are more than mere physical or muscular skills learned by repetition and "training." For example, the skill in a surgeon's fingers depends upon muscular training and coordination but to a larger degree upon the background of technical knowledge that helps the surgeon to know how, where, and when to do the countless little acts that together comprise a major surgical operation.

In the making of a professional person, there are in general three kinds of knowledge which contribute to his competence. This knowledge is acquired in the course of pursuing an organized course of study leading to licensing or acceptance in a particular profession.

General knowledge is a part of the education for all professions. (Another term is "general education.") It is the work usually taken during the first two years of college. It is made up of those courses which have come to be felt necessary to the background of any college-educated person. Usually included are

courses in the sciences, the social sciences, mathematics, and the humanities.

Specialized knowledge forms the background for the practice of a profession. A person having this knowledge will be able to apply it to the specific needs of his profession. He may not always learn it in an applied form, but he will use it in an applied form. An example is psychology, which you may be required to study. You will use this knowledge in an applied form in teaching. You will not use it as pure psychological theory, but you will learn, in the process of becoming a teacher, how to use psychological concepts in planning for learning and teaching. Doctors take a great deal of chemistry and bacteriology in the course of preparing themselves for their profession, but the manner in which they use their chemical knowledge and their bacteriological knowledge is not the same as the manner in which a professional chemist or the professional bacteriologist uses the same knowledge.

Professional knowledge is more specific and specialized in the sense that it is studied and learned only by those individuals preparing for a given profession. Part of it is the learning one must acquire in order to know how to apply to the specific carrying on of a professional function the kind of knowledge described in the preceding paragraph. When a doctor studies how to apply his chemical knowledge to the needs of the practice of medicine, when the engineer learns to apply what he has learned about metallurgy, and when the lawyer learns how to apply his knowledge of theoretical jurisprudence to the practice of law, each is acquiring professional knowledge. Put in another way, when a person acquires professional knowledge, he is learning "how to do it."

In terms of our first characteristic, how does teaching appear as a profession? The intellectual nature of the teaching function is undeniable. The teacher cannot teach unless he has something to teach. The professional educator must have a grasp of subject matter which far exceeds that of the average citizen.

As a college-educated person the teacher will have a general education background comparable with that of any other professional person. In the area of specialized education the teacher differs from these inasmuch as he learns a great deal of this knowledge in order to teach it to others. Other specialized knowledge he acquires for reasons more similar to those other professional people have—to apply the knowledge to the process and skill performances of his profession. Thus the science teacher will learn a great deal of science; he will, indeed, have a high degree of specialty in this area together with, it is hoped, a strong feeling of identification with the sciences which has grown out of a consuming interest in them. He will also need to have a strong background in the behavioral sciences, particularly psychology and sociology, in order to apply this knowledge to the special needs of the teacher.

The elementary school teacher has the same kinds of needs except that he may have less depth in any one area while having some preparation in a broader pattern of subject matter. In this sense the elementary school teacher, as a recent article termed him, is the last of the encyclopedists. He must know a great deal about most of the common academic areas taught in elementary school.¹ It should

be noted, however, that recent years have seen a trend toward greater specialization of elementary school teachers. This may take the form of new types of major and minor requirements, or a heavier emphasis on more advanced preparation.

For teachers, more than for most other professionals, knowledge and learning are integral parts of the fabric of their profession. A good teacher inevitably will cherish learning and will be personally involved in intellectual activities. He will respond to intellectual stimulation of many kinds—reading, research, writing, and study. In most cases he chose teaching as a career because of a deep interest in certain academic areas. Unless he has such identifications with the intellectual world, it is logical to assume that he will be limited in his ability to stimulate intellectual curiosity and respect for learning in those he teaches. But the teacher is more than an intellectually competent and stimulating person. He is more than an expert in a defined area of subject matter. He is a professional practitioner in teaching. The knowledge and skills one specifically needs as a teacher fall in the third category of learning—professional education.

The content of professional courses grows out of knowledge and theory selected from many disciplines and learned as applied science. In a sense each profession has a science, a discipline, of its own. This discipline is an applied discipline made up of appropriate contributions from those which can offer basic knowledge to the profession. In the case of the teaching profession, the applied discipline can be said to be education, which in turn selects and uses appropriate findings from such other disciplines as psychology, sociology, and anthropology. The systematic application of theory

¹ John S. Diekhoff, "The Last of the Encyclopedists," *Saturday Review*, September 15, 1962, pp. 62-63.

from other disciplines to the problems of learning and teaching is the applied science of education. It is a young science, still fighting for recognition, and still having to prove its right to recognition as a professional field. The selection and testing of theory and the development of new educational theory is in itself a research role involving specialists in the field of education. Lieberman suggests that there is a need in most professions for "theorists," research people and practitioners, those who use the findings of the researchers in the daily operation of the field of the profession.²

Many people graduate from college with much the same subject matter background as a teacher has, but they are not teachers. They have not qualified themselves in the applied or methodological area essential to all professions. It is the presence or absence of these learnings and skills that differentiates the professional in any field.

People often ask, "Why is it that _____, who is a competent chemist, is not permitted to teach in the public schools?" The answer is that he is qualified in the general and specialized areas of preparation, but not in the professional area of how to teach. Similarly, a very charming young woman with a college degree from an excellent liberal arts institution may feel quite able to teach first- or second-graders. Her perception of her qualifications may include, "I love small children, and I know I always get along with them so well." Actually, teaching small children requires a considerable amount of specialized education, and the practice of associated skills that can be

acquired only through a modern teacher education curriculum.

It is clear that a doctor could not practice medicine if his education were limited to subject matter achievement in physiology, anatomy, chemistry, bacteriology, and the like. A doctor also needs the specialized courses, experiences, and skill practice that he receives as part of his medical education. These courses and experiences are not available to just anyone—only to those individuals training for the professional practice of medicine. These courses have to do specifically with what the doctor will face in diagnosing and treating human ailments.

In teaching, professional education includes special methods in teaching certain age groups, certain subjects, or certain skills. It also includes knowledge about how children and youth grow and learn. The application of such knowledge to lesson planning and to classroom organization and management requires special training, skill development, and supervised practice. A teacher knows how to evaluate learning and teaching, not only for purposes of day-to-day, or week-to-week "testing" but for purposes of establishing achievement records for pupils based on standardized tests. He knows how to interpret test results, and he knows how to identify remedial needs and what to do about them.

The well-prepared teacher has learned how to plan learning experiences that are psychologically sound and are geared to the learning levels and needs of his students, not only in terms of groups but also in terms of individuals. This kind of knowledge and these kinds of skills must be taught to prospective teachers and, of course, learned by them.

It is a well-known fact that there is controversy concerning this aspect of the

² Myron Lieberman, *Education as a Profession* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1956), pp. 194-195.

education of teachers. Some say professional education for a teacher is unnecessary: "All the teachers need to know is the subject matter and the methods will take care of themselves," say some. Others would simply reduce the portion of time devoted to professional courses. As a matter of fact, this matter of time spent on professional training is greatly misunderstood. In comparison with other professions, teachers receive relatively little professional education. In terms of average state licensing or certification requirements, only 15 percent of the total college program needed for certification at the secondary level is in professional education. For elementary teaching the figure is 20 percent. By contrast, medicine, engineering, dentistry, and law require that 50 to 80 percent of the student's total program be devoted to courses specifically required only of those preparing for one of these particular professions.³

In summary, it can be said that teaching does meet the requirements of this first characteristic of a profession. It requires a high degree of intellectual ability, and the preparation of a good modern teacher does involve the learning of skills on all three levels: general education, specialized education, and professional education.

The intellectual quality is without doubt the cornerstone of professionalism. People have always respected those who appear to apply intellectual knowledge to their work. Although we are often said to be a materialistic society that uses various and not always complimentary expressions to indicate the intellectual,

such as the term "egghead," yet we are also known for our tremendous faith in education as something to be desired for our children. Being a young culture, we have had mixed feelings toward intellectualism. The post-Sputnik era has strengthened the position of the academic community and the intellectual and has given great impetus to the prestige and respect with which intellectual activities are viewed. This is not due primarily to a fear psychosis which might force acceptance of intellectual worth for the sake of sheer survival. Rather, it is that the mysteries of space, the incredible exactness and complexities of space guidance systems, and the compelling certainty of a new era of infinite dimensions are all identified with intellectual functioning on a level almost incomprehensibly high.

This atmosphere should help improve the position of the teacher, but it will not do so automatically. Teachers now teaching, prospective teachers, and those who prepare teachers must make every effort to upgrade the image of the teacher as an intellectual. Teachers should no longer merely be "recruited"; they should be selected. All the study experiences a prospective teacher must have should be rigorous, selective, and disciplining. That this climate of receptivity and acceptance for intellectualism will enhance the prestige and value of teachers and of teaching will depend to a large degree on the extent to which teachers themselves demonstrate that they are intellectuals as well as practitioners. The teacher must show that he sees learning as a function of intellectual-cognitive changes and, therefore, that teaching must be a process of providing intellectually stimulating experiences which are planned, directed, and evaluated by persons who are intellectually superior and disciplined individ-

³ B. J. Chandler, *Education and the Teacher* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, Inc., 1961), p. 189.

uals. Any other posture at this time can only result in teaching becoming a semi-automated skill trade or technical activity with the intellectual commitment being made by a selected few who do the planning and materials preparation for execution by subprofessional employees called teachers.

A PROFESSION CONTRIBUTES TO THE WELL-BEING AND IMPROVEMENT OF MANKIND

The kind of work that people in a profession do is expected to benefit mankind. Professional people have convictions that what they are doing is helpful to people. There is a personal satisfaction involved in doing the work of a profession. This feeling is more than the performance of a service for people or the earning of a substantial income. It has a deeper significance than this. A bellboy can carry your bags to your room in a hotel and by doing so he has performed a service and has relieved you of labor which you might not wish to do or, indeed, might be unable to do. His service, however, has not contributed materially to your improvement as a person, nor has this service benefited mankind in any way. The services we receive from a barber are important to us in terms of our everyday living, but they cannot be said to benefit mankind in general. Nor do they contribute materially to our own personal improvement as a person. However, the collective efforts of the ministry are generally conceded to have beneficial results in terms of the improvement of living for people. The idealism of the legal profession has its origin in the general expectation that lawyers protect the democratic and civil rights of individuals and

participate in the prosecution of wrongdoers in society.

Theoretically a professional person practices his profession with these altruistic goals in mind, over and above any expectations he may have for personal gain. Obviously this is not always true in practice, but the conceptualizations of people with regard to a profession involve the recognition of obligations on the part of professional people to their public over and above the need to earn money or to gain personal benefits. The Hippocratic oath which doctors take is typical of the idealism behind a profession. The actual practicing of a profession is supposed to benefit mankind in general; hence it is supposed to benefit a person practicing it. Engaging in professional work is considered to be something that brings great personal satisfactions to the professional person that have nothing to do with the material rewards.

These altruistic components of professionalism are highly significant in identifying what is professional and in helping a profession achieve recognition as such. These are idealistic elements, and we would be naïve to assume that they are always present in the practicing of a profession. But even as people generally recognize these ideal characteristics in a profession, they also recognize that professional people, too, have feet of clay and that this idealism may not always be present.

It seems rather obvious that a teacher makes a contribution to the improvement of his fellow human beings. If we can imagine a world or a society in which there is no formal education, where boys and girls grow up without any conscious direction with regard to what they need to learn in order to function in their society, we can understand that a modern

technological society simply could not maintain itself. But it is not only in areas of technological and vocational training that education is essential to a modern society. To live fully and to satisfy the expectations of a society such as ours requires formal education. As we have seen in the case of George, whose school career we have reviewed, the experiences he had in school and the relationships he had with his teachers were probably most significant in determining the kind of person he is and the kind of contribution he will make to his society. Unlike the first characteristic—that dealing with professional competencies and specialty—the general public accepts the fact that teaching contributes to the well-being of mankind. Our popular press, commentators, and politicians frequently give expression in one way or another to this ideal. As a matter of fact, as we saw in chapters dealing with the history of education, our country has always expressed tremendous faith and confidence in the ability of education to improve not only the lot of mankind but the quality of living for its citizens. Each generation has sought to make it possible for its children to have a better life than their parents had. People have sought to accomplish this primarily by means of more formal education.

A PROFESSION IS PRACTICAL

One of the strong motivations for entering professional work is to benefit mankind. But if it is to benefit mankind, work must also be practical. Professional people must be able actually to do things that are useful and that can be used as a means of earning a living. Professional knowledge and skill can, in other words, be sold. They must meet a need in society

to the extent that the person who has them practices them for his own material benefit as well as for the benefit of others. It is possible for a person to have a large reservoir of intellectual knowledge and even a high degree of professional skill of a certain kind, but unless this knowledge and these skills can be applied to a useful end in society the person is not a professional person. He may be highly respected for the knowledge he has, but he is not generally considered to be a professional unless he puts his knowledge to useful purposes.

Teaching is obviously practical. Its practical aspect is clearly recognized by the public inasmuch as the amount spent for education in local budgets is usually higher than that for any other community activity. The need for teachers is easy to establish.

The job for which communities employ teachers is one which must be done. The young of a modern society have much to learn. It is the task of teachers to do a major part of preparing them for living in the society and to become productive members in it. Parents recognize this need and have no quarrel with the general perception of the teacher's role. At the same time, parents, and also a teacher's students, may consider some of the things he does, or teaches, as being impractical. It is well known that many people consider anything in the school curriculum except the bare essentials of the fundamentals as totally "impractical." Furthermore, there are those who view certain classroom activities of the teacher as entirely useless. For example, a teacher who uses group techniques often and who tries to make his classroom activities opportunities for a variety of ideas may be considered impractical by many persons—including, perhaps, some fellow teachers.

These various kinds of interpretations of school and teacher activities, however, do not invalidate the assumption that teaching as a profession is practical. As an essential social process, education and the need for teachers are unquestionably here to stay.

There are those who define professionalism in extremely narrow terms with respect to its practical characteristics by saying that a line of work is not truly a profession unless the practitioner himself determines his compensation and transacts for his skills on a personal basis. Such a narrow definition of professionalism would leave out all kinds of work for which compensation is paid on a salary basis rather than on an individual fee basis. This definition of professionalism is not common and probably cannot be considered valid. In identifying professionalism one needs to look more at the kinds of things that go into the practice of the profession than at the narrow details of how compensation is handled. With regard to teaching, this problem is expressed well by a state Teacher Education and Professional Standards Commission report:

The educational project is socialized. So dependent is the operation of our society on the education of each individual that the project cannot be left in private hands. Rather than a privilege or right, the education of each individual, regardless of his social or economic status, is a requirement. To achieve this, the state assumes the responsibility for administering the program of education. Socialization of the profession confronts its membership with unique problems—social, economic, and professional. Each requires a broad understanding by every member of the nature and responsibilities of professions in general, and of his own in particular. The close relationship between education and the welfare of society, which has brought about the so-

cialization of education, creates at the same time a continuing concern, on the part of the public, for the quality of the educational program. What goes on in the schools is news. Whether the modifications required to keep the program abreast of the needs of a dynamic society are understood as being desirable or dangerous depends on who interprets them to an interested public. Until the profession realizes that education has an obligation even greater than have the other professions to collaborate with the public in a common enterprise, the schools will be at the mercy of any maladjusted individual seeking a scapegoat. At the same time, a high quality of professional statesmanship is required to clarify the narrow line separating those areas where public cooperation is necessary and desired, from the daily operation of the program in which the professional practitioner must be free from interference.⁴

This statement emphasizes that the professional role of teaching is so critical for a society that it inevitably is socialized. This is also true of such social services as military and police protection. Being socialized, teaching can never hope to have the degree of independence enjoyed by other professions. But, as Kinney and Thomas say, this fact does not preclude the profession of teaching from speaking with a united voice, nor does it preclude the establishment by the profession of standards and ethical codes in accordance with which both teachers and the public must live.

A PROFESSION IS ORGANIZED

All professions are characterized by strong professional organizations. In the

⁴ Lucien B. Kinney and Thomas G. Lawrence, *Toward Professional Maturity in Education* (Sacramento: California Teachers Association, Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, 1955), p. 5.

older, more mature professions, the organization has many of the aspects of a brotherhood. It is more than a mere business association.

The purposes of the professional organization are derived primarily from a need to give strength, respectability, continuity, and protection. Strong pressures are brought to bear to see that all qualified members of the profession are members of the organization. As members, they then come under the control of the organization, which gives unity to the profession and also protects it from pressures from many outside quarters.

One of the main purposes of the professional organization is to establish and maintain standards with regard to the quality of the membership of the profession. In the established and strong professions the organization may be able to control absolutely the entrance of new members. The American Medical Association and its affiliated state organizations establish and maintain standards for physicians, as well as for various medical specialists; these standards are then reflected in state licensing procedures. In many states, membership in the state bar association is necessary before a lawyer can practice law there. In general such control of a profession by the organization results in higher standards and better service to the people who are served by the profession.

Another purpose of the professional organization is to establish and maintain standards of practice and behavior for the membership. This is extremely important since the public's conception of a profession results from the kinds of standards and practices observed by individuals in that profession and their relationships with the public. The maintenance of such standards implies a disci-

plinary power on the part of the organization. The disciplining of individual members in a profession regularly takes place without publicity and is thus "kept within the family" so that malpractice or misbehavior on the part of a member of the profession usually does not become general public knowledge and thus possibly discredit the entire profession. On the other hand, the power to discipline and to maintain standards within an occupational group without any control from public agencies always carries with it a possibility that in the mind of the public malpractice and misbehavior may be "whitewashed."

It is important to members of a profession that its professional organization provide fully for their in-service educational needs. No profession can remain strong if it ignores new developments and knowledge affecting it, particularly in this day of rapid scientific advances. In-service education is accomplished through extensive publications, numerous conventions, conferences, workshops, and short study programs as well as by continuous encouragement to members to return to formal education centers for advanced training. Of course, not all these activities are sponsored directly by the professional organization. It is, however, common to have many of them encouraged financially by the organization.

The professional organization also serves the purpose of protecting the profession against inroads by any competing group and from possible unwanted controls through legislation. In this country today all professional organizations maintain strong lobbies in the national capital and in the various state capitals. This as a matter of fact, is a common practice of all types of associations today. The lobbying activities of professional organizations

are both negative and positive in the sense that they exist to defeat unwanted legislation and to promote legislation thought to be advantageous to the profession and the cause it serves.

Most professional organizations are in varying degrees self-governing. Strong professional organizations, however, are characterized by a high degree of centralization of authority on both state and national levels. All have policy-forming representative assemblies which meet once or twice a year. The main power, however, is usually delegated to a small executive board and to elected officers who speak authoritatively for the entire profession.

The teaching profession has two major national organizations. One of these is affiliated with the labor movement in the United States; the other is an independent organization. The American Federation of Teachers (AFT) is an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO). It gains most of its strength from teachers in the larger metropolitan areas of the country. It seeks to improve both the professional lot of the teacher and educational programs for children and youth. In those areas where its membership is strong, the AFT has often achieved marked improvements as a result of vigorous efforts on behalf of its program.

The other large organization of teachers in the United States is the National Education Association (NEA). Highly organized, it is not only the largest organization of teachers in the world, but also the largest professional organization of any kind in the United States.

There is considerable argument among teacher groups as to whether or not teachers should be organized independently or should be affiliated with the labor

movement. It is argued that if teaching is truly a profession, then it should have its own professional organization and should not affiliate with any organizations that have nothing to do directly with teaching. On the other hand are the arguments that the achievement of professional goals and the efforts to improve educational programs in this country could better be realized by affiliating with other organizations interested in the total improvement of all kinds of working people. It is quite possible that you will find yourself personally involved in this matter when you become a member of the teaching profession. You may have to decide whether to join one or both of these organizations.

It is estimated that the NEA outnumbered the AFT by at least four to one. In view of this it is appropriate to examine more closely the former in order to get some idea of its adequacy as a professional organization. The purposes of the NEA, as expressed in its charter are, "to elevate the character and advance the interests of the profession of teaching and to promote the cause of popular education in the United States." Since its organization in 1857, the NEA has grown steadily. In 1960 it enrolled a total of 713,944 members and its goal is to achieve a million members by 1964. For every one member of the NEA there are two members of state associations. There are 54 state and territorial units and 7135 local units of the NEA. The total annual budget of the NEA amounts to over \$7 million.⁵

The NEA is a powerful voice in national affairs. It maintains a lobby in Congress to support legislation on the federal level which will benefit education nation-

⁵ *NEA Handbook, 1960-61*, pp. 306-308.

ally. Through special commissions, it provides for study of and eventual action on standards for teachers and school programs. It provides services to defend teachers and school systems which have been the objects of unjustified public attack. The NEA and its affiliated state groups are working toward the attainment of full professional status for all in the educational program. The goal, however, is still not reached. The issues and controversies we have identified throughout this volume illustrate the immensity of the task.

We have pointed out that one characteristic of a profession is that entry into it is determined and established by the members themselves. In the case of teachers, however, the state establishes legal rules of entry: so many hours of study of this or that subject and so on. The profession itself is not the gatekeeper. Many educators feel that the future will see the practicing members of the teaching profession participating more in the legal licensing procedures set up by the states. Lieberman points out that teaching is the only profession whose members are not found in large numbers on the licensing boards of the various states.⁹

It is clear that teachers and their chief organization have much to accomplish in the way of controlling entrance into the profession. Some beginnings are being made, however, particularly among some of the independent departments of the NEA. For example, the American Association of School Administrators has set 1965 as the year in which only those who meet professional standards of preparation will be admitted to membership. Some state educational associations have also been moving in this direction; hence soon

unqualified teachers can no longer become members in good standing in a professional organization.

One of the characteristics of a strong professional organization is the adoption of a code of ethics that serves as a guide to professional conduct and relationships. Such a code of ethics formulated by the NEA defines the behaviors considered appropriate for teachers. Anyone considering the teaching profession should read this code to consider seriously his ability to abide by it. A copy of the NEA code of ethics may be obtained from the organization, from any state association, and from most local associations. An item-by-item analysis will bring many insights regarding the rights and responsibilities of teachers, at least as these are conceived by the NEA.

Considerable attention has been given here to the NEA and the broad professional problems with which a large professional organization is designed to cope. For many, however, the organization in which they find themselves most interested is the association of teachers with their own professional specialty.

Special-interest organizations for teachers are numerous, and most of them are strong and active. Their purposes and programs are less concerned with the welfare of teachers as a group, as is the NEA. Instead, they are more interested in helping the individual teacher be a better teacher in his specialty, encouraging and reporting research in it, and through publications and conferences providing opportunities for association and communication. Many of the strongest special-interest organizations are departments of the NEA. For example, the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) is a special organization for teachers of the social studies. Its mem-

⁹Lieberman, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-126.

bership is made up primarily of high school teachers of social studies, college and university professors in the social sciences, and education professors who have special interests in the social sciences. This organization, with over 7000 members, has contributed tremendously to the improvement of social studies teaching in the schools, both on the elementary and secondary school levels. It has made its contributions by means of:

- Sponsoring research in the social studies and in better methods of teaching;
- Collecting and reporting research and other information by means of pamphlets, yearbooks, special reports, and the organization's journal, *Social Education*;
- Providing for personal association of social studies teachers on a national level through the annual conference and by means of extensive involvement of people on committees, commissions, and writing groups.

The program of the NCSS is fairly typical of all such organizations. There is a similar association for teachers in every field: English, foreign language, mathematics, and so on. Space prevents a more detailed discussion. You should investigate the organization for your specialty since professionally oriented teachers should become members of their special-interest organization and participate in it. Student memberships are available in practically all of them and at greatly reduced dues.

Elementary school teachers find common associations in such organizations as the Association of Childhood Education, the Department of Classroom Teachers, Kindergarten-Primary Education, as well as all the regular subject matter organizations, each of which has a significant number of elementary school teachers.

Not all special-interest organizations are departments of the NEA, of course.

Some extremely active and strong organizations are independent. One of the best known of these is the National Council for Teachers of English. The Association for Childhood Education, mentioned above, is also an independent organization.

One other matter concerning the NEA should be discussed, for it is related to the requirements for a strong professional organization. For many years teachers' groups throughout the country have been involved in a controversy over whether or not it is a wholesome situation to enroll administrators in the same professional organization with teachers. Teachers' unions, in particular, take the position that administrators operating actively in a teachers' organization tend to dominate it. This is an argument that is taken seriously by many and much has been written about it. Some people have attempted to study the situation in local and state associations to determine, if possible, the actual extent of domination of these organizations by administrators. In summarizing his discussion of the problem, Leiberman has this to say:

At this stage of the controversy, it should be kept in mind that even if administrator domination is a serious problem in the NEA, it is important not to prejudge the possible solutions to the problem. It does not necessarily follow that the exclusion of administrators from educational organizations is the best solution. Many local education associations affiliated with the NEA are restricted to classroom teachers. Local associations in other communities are of the comprehensive type. The very existence of these two types of local associations within the framework of the NEA indicates that the problem of administrator domination of teachers' associations is recognized, but that no consistent policy to meet the problem has been devised within the NEA. However, the existence of locals

comprised solely of classroom teachers suggests the possibilities that a pattern can be worked out. It would have to retain the advantages of the comprehensive association while avoiding the disadvantages of all-inclusive membership in the organizational unit.⁷

The position that it is not in the best interests of the teachers to have administrators in their organization usually expresses the point of view of the members of the local association. Here it is said that the administrator has a great deal of power over the teacher. The local superintendents and principals employ, supervise, evaluate, promote, and sometimes discharge teachers. If administrators sit on the councils as full members of the local associations, whenever matters having to do with the welfare or the best interests of teachers are discussed, it is unrealistic to expect teachers to feel free to express themselves with complete candor when their superiors are sitting as part of the group. This argument assumes that the interests of teachers and administrators are sometimes in opposition.

On the other hand, it is argued that all who are in the teaching profession are seeking similar objectives professionally—the fullest development possible of each child and the best possible educational services for him. It is pointed out that the members of other professions, administrative as well as nonadministrative, often-times work together in one professional organization without handicapping the professional efforts of the organization.

Probably the difference of opinion discussed here will never be completely resolved. As Lieberman pointed out, the matter is handled differently in different local associations. In those communities

where a long tradition of cordial and mutually respectful relationships has existed among administrators and teachers for many years, there is probably little reason to feel that the two groups should be separately organized. In those communities where relationships between the two groups have often been strained or where the administration of the school system has frequently been arbitrary and unsympathetic with the aspirations and welfare of the teachers, the inclusion of administrators in the professional organization is much more likely to inhibit the effectiveness of the organization.

This examination of the degree to which teaching qualifies as a profession in terms of the four characteristics noted above is understandably limited. Any class such as yours, however, has many resources available to it with which to enrich the treatment of this topic. Instructors may wish to emphasize some problems or topics over others as local situations may dictate. Whether or not teaching is a profession is a question best answered by groups studying these issues. Obviously, teaching meets all the criteria to some degree. Equally obvious should be the potential that teaching has as a profession: it has the basis from which vigorous professions typically develop.

THE LITERATURE AND LANGUAGE OF THE TEACHING PROFESSION

In discussing the professional aspects of teaching, it is essential that some attention be given one more characteristic of professionalism that runs through all the others noted above: the presence or absence of a professional language unique to a particular profession. All mature and

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 296.

accepted professions have such a literature and such a language.

A profession can never be considered to be established and mature until it is supported by extensive research that relates to the improvement of its applied aspects. Research activities in turn suggest the need for a vast resource of professional literature. Such literature is to be found in the scholarly journals as well as in the more practical organizational journals that serve a profession. It is appropriate, therefore, to look with some detail at the literature of education and how prospective teachers may learn to find and use it.

There are hundreds of publications primarily produced for teachers and other professional workers in the field of education. How can you ever find your way around among them? By now you have become familiar with the *Guide to Periodical Literature*, that indispensable tool for the student. A parallel publication, *Education Index*, is available in the field of education. It will be found in the reference room of almost every college and university library. Here are listed by author, title, and subject the articles from almost all the educational journals. It is an essential resource for the educator.

An important companion to the *Index* in terms of the general field of education is *Psychological Abstracts*. These are brief summaries of all articles published in psychological journals and, of course, go back for a number of decades. Although it is important to be familiar with the literature of education, it is just as important to look to other contributing disciplines for the help they can give on many pressing problems in education; and psychology is perhaps chief among these. In the main, psychologists have been only peripherally interested in the

problems of the classroom, but they have studied many aspects of child growth and development, learning theory, motivation, and related topics pertinent to education.

Sociological Abstracts, a somewhat more recent publication venture, has a similar role in the field of sociology. Here, too, one may find articles and research reports on the role of the school in society and on the extent that social pressures affect children, adults, and institutions.

The educator is fortunate in having access to two eminent guides to the research in the area of education. One of these is the *Encyclopedia of Educational Research*, now in its third (1960) edition. This massive (1546 pages) volume is an indispensable tool for the educator who truly wants to keep up-to-date in almost any area in education. The encyclopedia contains several hundred articles on major topics of interest to educators, articles written by leading experts in the area who review what is known and what is uncertain, as well as provide a lengthy but selected bibliography of the relevant research.

An equally important guide to the research in education is the periodical *Review of Educational Research*. This publication, which appears monthly during the school year, devotes each issue to one major area of education. This area, in turn, is subdivided into related topics. An authority on each subtopic reviews the research (usually for the last three years or since the time the last article on this topic was published in the *Review*) and, of course, includes a comprehensive bibliography. For example, the February 1961 issue of the *Review* (Vol. XXXI, No. 1) was devoted to "The Philosophical and Social Framework of Education."

In the journal were to be found articles reviewing the research and theory in the fields of history of education, philosophy of education, sociology of education, comparative education, anthropology and education, socialization processes and education, and educational and social policy. Similarly, whole issues are devoted to the education of adolescents, to early childhood education, to the education of exceptional children, and so forth.

These various reviews, indexes, and encyclopedias are guides to the literature of education and related fields. Another major group of publications is made up of journals sponsored by the organized teaching profession in the broad-based organizations. By these we mean, first, the National Education Association, whose *NEA Journal* has the largest circulation of any education journal, going to all members of the NEA and the Student NEA. In this journal are articles on significant current news about developments in education as well as thoughtful articles on major issues in education. Each state teachers' association also publishes a journal, and members of such an association, of course, receive the journal. Like the *NEA Journal*, these publish current local news about education and articles of general interest. They are of particular value, also, in keeping teachers informed about legislation that will affect their teaching and welfare. Some large city systems and local associations also publish journals, the main purpose of which is to keep the membership informed of important local events as well as to discuss significant new developments in education.

There is another very large group of general journals, but these are typically published by a university press or a college of education. Among these will be

found such informative journals as *Teachers College Record* (Columbia University), *Harvard Educational Review*, *School Review*, and *Journal of Elementary Education* (University of Chicago).

One of the leading general journals, with a long publication history, is *School and Society*, published by educational honorary fraternities. This also serves a general educational interest. Others are the *Phi Delta Kappan* (published by Phi Delta Kappa), *Education Forum* (published by Kappa Delta Pi, and the *Pi Lambda Theta Journal*.

There are many excellent publications in special-interest fields. What about reading? Would you like to know something about the current proposals, research, and issues in the reading field? Then you can choose from among *The Reading Teacher* (published by the International Reading Association, University of Pittsburgh) and *Elementary English* and *The English Journal* (both published by the National Council of Teachers of English). Art? Look at *Art Education* (published by the NEA), *Arts and Activities*,⁸ *Design and School Arts*,⁹ and *School Arts*.¹⁰

There are excellent journals available in home economics, social studies, industrial arts and vocational education, physical education and recreation, business education, early childhood education, adult education, science, and mathematics. In addition, of course, there are specialized journals for elementary and secondary school administrators, school board members, school maintenance personnel, and school supervisors. There are

⁸ The Jones Publishing Company, Skokie, Ill.

⁹ Design Publishers Company, Columbus, Ohio.

¹⁰ Davis Press, Worcester, Mass.

journals for the specialists in educational sociology, educational psychology, educational research, and educational philosophy and theory. Such publications as the *UNESCO Courier* and the *Comparative Education Review* bring news of education around the world. The official publication of the U.S. Office of Education, *School Life*, is paralleled by official state publications, such as *California Schools*, published by the California State Department of Education.

Closely related to the literature of a profession is the special language and established terminology of that profession. There are no scholarly disciplines or mature professions which do not have an esoteric language of their own. Words or phrases are developed or coined which have special meaning to the membership. Such a special language often infuriates, irritates, or at least confuses nonmembers. Indeed, the special language of some disciplines can become so obscure that well-educated persons in that field may become uneasy. Yet the special language of a discipline serves a very important function. For one thing, it is exact. When a new element is discovered, physicists find it convenient to give it a special name. When sociologists or psychologists make new discoveries in the understanding of man they develop new terms which have special and exact meanings. Sometimes a very ordinary word can take on a special connotation when used in a particular way by a particular scholar in a special discipline. An example is the word "program." Does this suggest the theater to you? To a person who is today working with electronic computers, the term "program" has a different meaning. It means the instructions that are given to the computer so that it will do what

it is supposed to do. A single program may involve thousands of man-hours of highly technical and skilled labor, and even then may fail if one comma is misplaced.

Though the language of a profession may, in some instances, be likened to the incantations of a witch doctor, the meaning of which only he knows, yet in essence the language of the scholar is developed in the interest of clarity of communication. But this communication is only to those who are in the same field. Outsiders may harbor dark suspicions that the only reason for those big words is to confuse them or keep them in helpless ignorance.

Education as a discipline and teaching as a profession also have some special terms and words. Some who are not in sympathy with this style of writing refer to it as "pedagese." Yet to the educated teacher the special terms of education are important and useful. Here again, however, we find one of the special conditions which surround education. Teaching is a very public profession. It performs its tasks in the full view of parents and other interested citizens of the community who pay the bill for its services. These people tend to become irritated when, in describing what is done in school, we use the special terminology of education. It is understandable that in dealing with the public, who are the consumers as well as the supporters of educational programs, we should speak in terms they understand. But this does not mean that within the profession there should be a retreat from the utilization of those terms which make particular sense to the educator and thus simplify and expedite his communication with other professionals.

SUMMARY

Professionalism in the abstract has long intrigued scholars and students of human institutions. It is possible to identify reasonably precise characteristics of a profession. Teaching as a profession can be viewed in terms of these general characteristics, and some perception of its status as a profession may be obtained. It is to be noted also that one of the most significant characteristics of a profession is the presence of a professional literature and language unique to it.

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16

The Need for Philosophy and Values in Education

It is a rare school system that is not “trying something new” this year: a new course in foreign language in the elementary grades, a new method of scheduling classes in senior high school, an experiment with team teaching in the middle grades, a new science program on TV—one or more of these can be found almost anywhere you look.

Is this willingness to try something new, even before it has been proven better than the old, a good thing? Some educators and some critics of the schools think the schools are likely to change too fast. Others think the schools are far behind the times and have not changed enough.

But what direction should change take? How fast or how slow should it be? How much of the traditional should be retained and how much modified or replaced?

Answers to these questions are not found in research. Research tells us only about what is, not what ought to be. We can find out what people think, but not what is best for them to think. We must look to philosophers for guidance in the area of basic values.

The preceding chapter pointed out that it was not enough to know *what* to teach, one also had to know *how*. We need to add, at this point, that it is a mark of a true professional also to know *why*.

TIME FOR DECISION

One task of the educator which is never completed is that of decision making. Every teacher makes hundreds of minor decisions daily as part of his teaching. These decisions include what to emphasize in a given lesson, or what to omit, when to test, whom to excuse from an assignment, when to praise and when to reprimand.

These daily decisions are made on the basis of convictions about what is good education, what are appropriate learning activities for a given group of students, what are—in essence—the goals and purposes of education.

A teacher may make these countless educational decisions without knowing he is operating on the basis of a philosophy of education. Yet he is guided by his own concepts of what education is for, and his own values regarding society and individuals. When a teacher does not know what his philosophy of life is, or his philosophy of education, he may be inconsistent in his decisions. Then he wonders why things do not turn out

right, why his decisions seem to have been the wrong ones.

A well-reasoned and consistent philosophy of education marks the mature teacher. This kind of philosophy began to grow through such a person's educational experiences as an undergraduate. After trying out teaching as a student teacher, he becomes more certain about what he believes to be good education. Then, through the years of full-time career teaching, he continues to refine his philosophy of education.

A philosophy of life is not evolved overnight. Our ideas about what is right and wrong, good and bad, change as new experiences broaden our view. As we meet a variety of persons and situations, we move from a provincial and narrow concept of life to a broader one. It takes a number of years of living to acquire a stable and supporting philosophy of life to guide us through the perils of the modern world. For most people the source of their philosophy of life has roots deep in their religious convictions. Yet the religious base for a philosophy of life is only part of the story, since each builds for himself his own criteria which mark the mature individual.

Like a personal philosophy, an educational philosophy is not something acquired overnight. What we come to believe about education is closely related to our religious concepts and convictions, and the philosophy of life we have developed for ourselves. The degree to which these are consistent tends to identify the secure person who has made a realistic adjustment between the world he finds and the world he wishes to help build.

The individual starting on the road toward becoming a professional educator will therefore also be starting to amass

ideas and impressions which in later years will become part of his philosophy of education. Already he has many ideas about what is or is not "good" education. These ideas were received from many sources: parents who were, or are, teachers, other teachers, observations of classrooms and conversations with students, newspapers and magazines in which educational issues are discussed. Many beginning teachers are already pretty sure about what they believe about education.

This belief regarding what is "good" education, however, is not what we would call "educated belief"—that is, it does not come from a careful study of the totality of the educational process, nor from very extensive experience as a teacher. Thus the belief of a newcomer to education is apt to be compounded mostly of biases, impressions, half-known and half-understood truths. The professional educator builds a philosophy of education which comes from wide experience, thought, reading, open-minded observation, and intensive study of the educational process.

The most important function a philosophy of education serves is to help identify the goals and purposes we hold to be essential. In America today there are distinct and different views as to what the true and proper function of education ought to be. These have been presented to the public by many media, and have aroused great public debate in recent years. In the succeeding sections of this chapter we will give a brief overview of some of these positions and identify some of the spokesmen and their beliefs as a start toward helping the reader to develop a personal philosophy of education.

While there are many schools of educational philosophy, we will classify them here under three main groupings: the

conservative approach, the progressive approach, and the eclectic approach.

THE CONSERVATIVE POSITION

There are many variations of the conservative position taken by a number of educators and laymen. Essentially, this position emphasizes subject matter and methodology that has been tested by time. There is a strong inclination to view education as only intellectual, and to restrict the scope of the school to "learning tasks." Many conservative commentators on the school claim that the schools today are trying to do far too much. It is felt that the schools should concentrate primarily on teaching basic skills—such as reading, writing, mathematics—and leave the problems of personal adjustment, of moral and character development, of citizenship education to other agencies in the community and to the family.

A related aspect of this position is that education is a discipline, that learning itself trains the individual in responsibility and control. Not only is there mental discipline involved, but the conservative view sees value in greater school discipline. Children should learn to obey and be respectful of authority. Today's schools are felt to be too soft, and learning too easy.

Current spokesmen for this position include such people as Arthur E. Bestor, Albert Lynd, and Admiral H. G. Rickover.¹ The Council for Basic Education,

of which Bestor is a leading member, publishes and supports this particular conservative view of the role of the schools.

Bestor states his conservative position very clearly:

The school has its . . . job to do, and the nation is threatened with disaster if the school fails to do that job superlatively well. Many vital needs of men cannot be satisfied except through the extensive and rigorous application of intellectual means. No agency but the school can provide the systematic, disciplined, intellectual training required. This is, and always has been, the primary, indispensable function of the school.²

Many of those who agree essentially with what Bestor is saying have weakened their case by proceeding from a strong basis in a statement of values to shotgun attacks on any or all school programs. The charges and countercharges regarding whether or not schools are "educating" has tended to obscure the basic philosophical problem involved.

Unfortunately, too, the conservative view of education attracts persons who may not be wholly clear about the philosophical and methodological implications involved, but are motivated by a fear of politically liberal infiltration of the schools. Some people, too, are worried because Johnny may not be reading as well as he should (or as Ivan does), and so they assume that the conservative approach to education will automatically cure these ailments. The problem is far more complex, and the answers are far from simple. One must keep clearly in mind the objective of our concern, which is to attempt to identify what we believe

¹ Arthur E. Bestor, *Educational Wastelands* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1953); Albert Lynd, "Quackery in the Public Schools," *Atlantic Monthly*, 185:33-38 (March 1950); H. G. Rickover, *Education and Freedom* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1960).

² Arthur E. Bestor, "Anti-Intellectualism in the Schools," *New Republic*, January 19, 1953, pp. 11-13.

to be the central function of education. Then we can examine more rationally criticisms of the school which are valid, and not confuse an ideological criticism with a basic philosophical difference of viewpoint.

Another and somewhat different conservative position regarding what the schools should teach is held by Dr. Robert Maynard Hutchins, formerly chancellor of the University of Chicago. He strongly opposes education for "adjustment," which he feels is essentially an education without values. Education which focuses on values derives its content from the enduring products of man's intellectual activity. Says Hutchins: "What belongs in education is what helps the student to learn to think for himself."³ Hutchins has translated his philosophy into a curriculum known popularly as the Great Books Curriculum. One college, St. John's, in Annapolis, Maryland, utilizes the Great Books as the core of its educational program. So far, Mr. Hutchins' prescription has not reached the lower schools, although his attacks on life adjustment education have caused some public re-examination of the place of some subjects and programs in schools and colleges.

In many instances the conservative view looks toward the traditional for its validation. While admitting vast social and cultural changes, the claim is that by using content that has endured for many centuries, and approaches to learning and teaching that have been standard for generations past, we can therefore better equip young people to deal with these drastic changes. The moral vacuum

which many observe in the behavior of adults and youth today appears to many persons to be a result of a "valueless" education. We note, as a symptom of this, the reintroduction of the McGuffey readers in a few places, with their heavy moral emphasis.

THE PROGRESSIVE POSITION

It is as difficult to identify a single "progressive" position as it is to identify a single conservative one. Many things that are labeled "progressive education" are really just different ways of doing things. The Progressive Education Association, once a flourishing group in American education, is no longer in existence under this name, in part because of public criticisms of anything labeled "progressive" in education, and in part because of the difficulty of agreeing on what constituted progressive education. Many individuals claim that the father of progressive education was John Dewey. Certainly those who take a progressive point of view do acknowledge a debt to Dewey. However, as the term is used today, it is probable that Dewey's beliefs are not nearly as "progressive" as some of his advocates might claim.

One philosophy of progressive education focuses attention primarily on the child. Education, it is felt, should begin with the needs of children and should grow and develop with them. That is, what is taught cannot be wholly predetermined by adults, but must be an outcome of the needs, interests, and wishes of children. The role of the teacher is not one of authority, but of guide. The discipline that is to be developed is self-discipline, rather than discipline that comes from an outside source.

³ Robert Maynard Hutchins, *The Conflict in Education in a Democratic Society* (New York: Harper & Row, 1953, p. 12).

To an observer, a "progressive" classroom may seem very different from a typical classroom, because children may be engaged in many kinds of activities at once, and may be studying many things that are not part of the traditional curriculum.

An English educator, A. S. Neill, is perhaps the best-known exponent of the most extreme current interpretation of what this view of progressive education implies:

My view is that a child is innately wise and realistic. If left to himself without adult suggestion of any kind, he will develop as far as he is capable of developing. . . . At Summerhill . . . lessons are optional. Children can go to them or stay away from them—for years if they want to.

This unique school proceeds on the basic assumption that the child who is freely loved and valued will come to education as and when he wants to, joyfully and competently.⁴

That children are to be loved and supported is a central value in American life. Some critics have stated that the progressive education view of children has made them soft and/or spoiled. Our culture is called child-dominated. Foreign observers note with wonder how children are treated in American homes. The opinions of children are valued, they are treated with respect, and share in many major family decisions. The application of this social valuation of children in school terms, which is what the progressive educational philosopher would do, arouses great uneasiness. Reading *Summerhill*, which is the ultimate application of this theory, is a rare and unusual experience, and provides one with a living

picture of one kind of progressive educational philosophy in action.

Neill, however, would not be comfortable with another school of progressive educational philosophers. These educators believe that the schools have a primary service to perform for society.

George S. Counts put the question in the title of one of his books, *Dare the School Build a New Social Order?*⁵ During the Great Depression of the 1930's many educators felt strongly that the schools had failed to help citizens think clearly about the pressing social crises of the day. Dewey had himself stressed the significance of society as a major source of curriculum content. Today progressive educators are less sure than was Counts that the schools can materially influence the progress of society. Society is too mammoth a creation to be moved by any single institution along any particularly defined course. Yet there is a significant culturally oriented awareness that the modern school must accept, say such educational philosophers as Theodore Brameld.⁶ Brameld terms his approach to the problems of educational philosophy that of "reconstructionism," which is an attempt to place education in cultural perspective, to balance what has been with what society is now like, and what emerging needs suggest are the goals of the future.

Few American public schools demonstrate any but fragments of the progressive philosophies of education. Courses in driver education are a response to cultural demand; courses in problems of democracy focus on current social prob-

⁴ A. S. Neill, *Summerhill: A Radical Approach to Child Rearing* (New York: Hart Publishing Company, 1960), pp. 4-5.

⁵ George S. Counts, *Dare the School Build a New Social Order?* (New York: The John Day Company, 1932).

⁶ Theodore Brameld, *Cultural Foundations of Education* (New York: Harper & Row, 1957).

lems. The elementary school is regarded as a good place for the child to attend because the child is valued as a distinct individual, to be helped and supported. Some independent schools, such as the Putney School in Vermont and the Verde Valley School in Arizona, are more consistent in adopting major elements of the progressive viewpoint.

Although the conservative often looks backward for curriculum content and method, the progressive is more inclined to use the present. He is persuaded that the only way for him to understand himself and today's world is to study these phenomena directly. At Verde Valley, for instance, the program has a heavy anthropological orientation. The whole school goes on a month-long field trip to Mexico, and a shorter one into the Navajo country to study these different cultures. The school is governed by student self-government, and students do most of the work of the school.⁷

A thoughtful and eloquent statement of the position of the modern progressive educator is found in the final paragraphs of Lawrence K. Frank's 1958 Burton Lecture at Harvard:

Today we have the immense privilege and the equally great obligation to reformulate those enduring goal-values in terms that are appropriate to, and congruous with, our new climate of opinion, that are responsive to the needs and opportunities of today, utilizing the new conceptual framework being developed by science and increasingly interpreted and elaborated by art, poetry, and literature, to help advance toward those goal-values. Today we can evoke the resources of technology for this purpose, making operative in our social order, our respect for the worth of the

individual personality, our aspirations toward human dignity, and our love for children, using technology for human conservation and individual development.

This, I believe, we can hopefully undertake by educating our children and youth to live in the contemporary world, to learn to perceive the world through the new concepts which provide the instruments for remaking our culture and maintaining a free social order, thus avoiding that cumulative demoralization which now seems to threaten the western world, as it has elsewhere.

If we are to escape that "failure of nerve" which heretofore has developed when a culture has begun to weaken and break down because it was no longer an effective and achievable design for living, then we must courageously undertake to renew our culture, looking to the schools as the promising agent, supported by families and all others who are ready to join in this great enterprise of self-conscious redirection of human living, with reaffirmation and rededication to our enduring goal-values.⁸

THE ECLECTIC POSITION

To be eclectic means to borrow from many sources. Such is the position taken by many educators who see much that is good in the conservative position, much that is valuable in the progressive position, but cannot subscribe completely to either. The eclectic position agrees with the conservative in stating that the primary function of education is to develop intellectual competence, but also agrees with the progressive position that we must develop our programs of education with an awareness of the learner's

⁷ Franklin Patterson (Ed.), *The Adolescent Citizen* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1960), pp. 148-165.

⁸ Reprinted by permission of the publishers from *The School as Agent for Cultural Renewal* by Lawrence K. Frank. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, Copyright, 1958, by the Graduate School of Education, Harvard University.

needs and capacities as an individual. The eclectic position accepts the role of the school in developing values and attitudes, citizenship education, and moral character, but it feels that other agencies in the community besides the school can and must share in these responsibilities. Although there is room for students to develop self-discipline and to learn some of the elements of self-government, the range of student choice is not as wide nor the opportunity for student self-direction as great as a progressive educator might desire. The eclectic position includes careful assessment of today's needs and problems, and recognition that the school program must be geared to today and tomorrow. But neither does it throw out all that has been previously taught.

Most public schools accepted as goals the basic processes formulated in 1918, and known as the Seven Cardinal Principles of Education, as was pointed out in Chapter 13. This chapter went on to discuss how in 1938 the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association issued an additional statement clarifying and modernizing the Seven Cardinal Principles. Our discussion here refers to the philosophical value implications of these policy statements. In essence, said the Educational Policies Commission, the major objectives of the school can be grouped into four major classifications: self-realization, human relationship, economic efficiency, and civic responsibility.⁹

In adapting to the needs of our modern technological world, the Educational Policies Commission sharpened its posi-

tion in a statement issued in 1961. At this time the Educational Policies Commission said:

The rational powers of the human mind have always been basic in establishing and preserving freedom. In furthering personal and social effectiveness they are becoming more important than ever. They are central to individual dignity, human progress, and national survival.

The individual with developed rational powers can share deeply in the freedoms his society offers and can contribute most to the preservation of those freedoms. At the same time, he will have the best chance of understanding and contributing to the great events of his time. And the society which best develops the rational potentials of its people, along with their intuitive and aesthetic capabilities, will have the best chance of flourishing in the future. To help every person develop those powers is therefore a profoundly important objective and one which increases in importance with the passage of time. By pursuing this objective, the school can enhance spiritual and aesthetic values and the other cardinal purposes which it has traditionally served and must continue to serve.

The purpose which runs through and strengthens all other educational purposes—the common thread of education—is the development of the ability to think. This is the central purpose to which the school must be oriented if it is to accomplish either its traditional tasks or those newly accentuated by recent changes in the world. To say that it is central is not to say that it is the sole purpose or in all circumstances the most important purpose, but that it must be a pervasive concern in the work of the school. Many agencies contribute to achieving educational objectives, but this particular objective will not be generally attained unless the school focuses on it. In this context, therefore, the development of every student's rational powers must be recognized as centrally important.¹⁰

⁹ Educational Policies Commission, *The Purposes of Education in American Democracy* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1958).

¹⁰ Educational Policies Commission, "The Central Purpose of the School," *The Central Purpose of American Education* (Washington,

This position gains support from a large leadership group in America. Notably the President's Commission on National Goals, reporting in 1960, stated:

American education can be as good as the American people want it to be. And no better.

And in striving for excellence, we must never forget that education has a clear mission to accomplish with every single child who walks into the school. Modern life has pressed some urgent and sharply defined tasks on education, tasks of producing certain specially needed kinds of educated talent. For the sake of our future we had better succeed in these tasks—but they cannot and should not crowd out the great basic goals of our educational system: to foster individual fulfillment and to nurture the free, rational and responsible men and women without whom our kind of society cannot endure. Our schools must prepare *all* young people, whatever their talents, for the serious business of being free men and women.¹¹

NEEDED: A POINT OF VIEW

Education is news. Open almost any paper or magazine today and you will find some item having to do with schools and education. Behind each such article are some basic assumptions about the role of the school in today's world. Perhaps your class can collect several such articles or news reports and examine them to find out what position is taken by the writer. It would also be useful

to trace current trends in public statements about education.

Essentially, however, it is the teacher who must make up his mind. When he goes out to teach, he will be faced with hundreds of decisions daily about what to teach, how to teach, how to speak to and with children and youth. How a teacher makes these decisions is an outgrowth of his own basic beliefs about the role and function of education. Lacking a philosophy, he is apt to feel insecure and uneasy. He does not know why he is doing anything. But developing a sound and consistent philosophy of education is far from easy. It cannot be built from vague "feelings" about education and children, but requires study of our society, of the research about children and about how learning takes place. Then a teacher is equipped to think out for himself what educational philosophy seems to correspond most closely with his own.

SUMMARY

This chapter emphasizes the need for a personal philosophy of education on the part of the teacher. Three major philosophies of education are summarized. The origins of some major policy and value statements on the part of leading educators in the past and present are discussed.

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